# CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Ethnomusicology - Performing Arts, in the Faculty of Arts, at the School of Oriental and African Studies, in the Centre of Music Studies, University of London.

April 1990

ABSTRACT

Despite the fact that 'transculturation' between Africans and Europeans in South Africa has been going on for more than two centuries, African contemporary political performing arts continually reflect indigenous performing arts' genres of the pre-colonial era. Although a contemporary political performing artist does not play exactly the same role that is played by the traditional artist, who 'criticises the chiefs for perverting the laws and the customs of the nation and laments their abuse of power and neglect of their responsibilities and obligations to the people' (Mafeje, 1967: 195), he still represents the public: in this case a much wider public, and expresses the views which are shared by Africans throughout the whole country.

The thesis surveys the political roles of contemporary African performing arts in South Africa. It demonstrates how performing arts have been systematically used as a mechanism to 'step in arenas' where one would dare not with political vehicle, and conveying political messages to promote the struggle for national liberation. The work shows the unique manner in which political performing arts are implemented, and to what degree they have succeeded. It also reveals an element of fear among both Africans and Europeans as being an overt manifestation of the national struggle by the Africans, which has resulted in harassments and detentions of the former, and the loss of privileges to the latter. Lastly, it reflects frustration among the Africans, as their endeavours for national liberation are thwarted.

The research has covered the techniques employed by the performing artists to convey political messages. It also assesses the relationship between the traditional and the avant-garde (non-conventional) performing arts, and evaluates the reasons for the change in tactics. Reactions of resentment to change in cultural and social life are discussed; how the Government has ruthlessly responded to such addresses; and how people have reacted to harsh response from the Government.

The work also reveals how performing arts have appealed for international attention to address the South African situation, and how international artists have used an international forum to highlight the South African situation. Lastly, the work analyses South African contemporary political performing arts in worldwide context.

'YIDLAN' UMNGA NIQHELISELE, NINGABANTU BENKOSI EZONDEKAYO'. SARILI

(Adhere to your traditions, you belong to a loathed 'chief')

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PREFACE

With reference to my research experience I have been involved in research on South African political performing arts that included participant observation. Having personally experienced oppression in physical terms in South Africa, it was easy for me to understand whatever issues consultants were referring to in the interviews. I also happen to be multilingual: speaking some of the languages spoken by the indigenous people of South Africa, and I was able to understand most of the text and dialogue of the material under consideration in this thesis without the need of the interpreters. This means that even if there is awkwardness in the translation from African languages into English, there are not likely to be inaccuracies in the interpretation.

I have also been exposed to Western music theory and methodology through my previous formal education, and this has provided an advantage in verbalising about music. Regarding practical involvement, I have frequently appeared on stage as a performer and as an adjudicator. Lastly, I have conducted workshops, seminars and lectures on South African indigenous music.

On account of the situation in South Africa this thesis is based on political performing arts collected from various parts of South Africa, the United Kingdom and other parts of Western Europe. This is because some of South African artists and political activists had been exiled and are living in these countries.

I am indebted to the following people for my fieldwork research: Rodwell, Nyembezi, 'my friend', (Ngolohlobo, nangolohlobo), Mzotane for the experience he has displayed in my interviews with him in London. I am also grateful to Douglas 'Chippenam...' Mantshontsho, who also lived in London during the time I interviewed him, for his contribution and also academic advice, advice for the right theories for my thesis.

Gratitude also goes to Steve Khala and his wife; Sipho Maleka; Thabo Pholwana (who were living in Germany, Hamburg and Aachen respectively, when I interviewed them) for their marvellous cooperation and hospitality. They also gave me free accommodation in a foreign country, and introduced me to other South Africans, like ITumeleng Wa-Tusi, Victor Williams and Dumisani Mabaso.

I want to single out Lefifi Tladi (introduced to me by Mabene who lives in London) for the warm reception he extended to me in Sweden at short notice after a call from Steve Khala. He also introduced me to his friends, and suggested the names of other people to contact in London when I first arrived there. Special thanks to Tladi's wife with accommodation at a time she was experiencing difficulty, with the imminent birth of a child.

Molefe Phetho's contribution - interview with him, and also allowing me to record live performances from their ensembles is highly appreciated.

I also wish to acknowledge Uthingo and Shikisha Arts for their contribution, and also for recording their live performances. I want to thank in particular Betty Hlela who gave me some of her sound recordings, which have relevant text, for dubbing: Julian Bahula for allowing me to video tape one of his live performances.

Many thanks go to Irungu Houghton, Zinyusile Pondo, Zolile Ngaba, Mandla Langa, Pitika Ntuli and Sheikh Amhad for their contribution in this work. I extend gratitude to Kopi Funeka and Kentse Molope for the Sotho translation in freedom songs. Sakhumzi Faku and Andile helped me in translating some of the text in toyi-toyi*, Motsoko Pheko, Bennie Alexander, Lorry Strelitz, Dr David Dargie, Dr. Elizabeth Gunner, and Kalipile Sizani helped me with tape recordings and this is greatly appreciated. Once more, I extend gratitudes to Zolile Keke, Dudu Pukwana, Pinise Soul, Churchill Jolobe and Mbuyiseli Deliwe for their contributions.

I want to thank collectively the United Nations Education and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA), Africa Educational Trust (AET), The Canon Collins Educational Trust for Southern Africa, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) for the tuition, maintenance and fieldwork research grants they made to me respectively.

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*Refer to page 150

I extend a word of thankfulness to Dr Rycroft, my supervisor, for all his research expertise; cordial and bounteous advice; exhaustless positive judgements and continual inspiration he contributed in this work. Dr Hughes' contribution, constructive criticism, in this thesis is also acknowledged.

Special gratitude is extended to Andy Seplow of New York, my collegue at SOAS, for his hospitality and financial assistance in my research trip to the other parts of Europe and the United Kingdom. This has enabled me to watch live performances of South African band groups performing in London, and visiting some historical monuments when I am exhausted.

I am greatly indebted to the Riesenberg family, Rick, Lisa and Matt, for making my life normal: financing my family's plane trip in order to be with me in London. I also thank them for financial assistance in our trip to America when we were trying to help our son to regain his good memories about America - memories which he lost as a result of culture shock when he arrived in South Africa in 1987.

Finally, I want to thank my sisters, Nobulele, Nonceba and Nontobeko who took care of my mother while I was away; gratitude to my mother, Mandlovu, and my wife, Pumza, for their endless encouragement and for doing everything I could have hoped for in order to help me complete my programme.

APPROACH FOR THE READING OF THE THESIS AND CITATION FORMAT

As an aid to the reading of this thesis the following has been provided: repertoire with original text, in African languages, (that is, not accompanied by music) appears in the appendices; transcription of some music referred to in the thesis also appears in the appendices; I have also used Rycroft's circular system of notation for illustrative purposes. Lastly, to reduce the number of footnotes I have used the Harvard system of citing author, year of publication and page reference, in the text. Bibliography covers each publication in full.

# CHAPTER 1

# CONJECTURES AND DISCOURSE

## 1.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 1.1.1. Purpose, scope and corpus

> Social institutions are validated through groups which emphasize the proper and improper in the society, as well as those which tell people what to do and how to do it. This function of music, however, needs to be further studied and more concisely expressed (Merriam, 1964:224).

The involvement of the performing arts in African politics is not a new dimension that started only as a result of contact with Europeans, it is an age-old traditional device to solve problems or crises. It is one technique that society takes to preserve a healthy, wholesome community (Tracey, 1954:237). Jordan (1973:64) has demonstrated that music is used in Xhosa intsomi (folk tale) for the settlement of problems (see Sinyobolondwana). Scheub (1975:178-192) has also shown that music is a useful device to resolve a predicament. Kaemmer (1989:43) has also noted that music is considered as one of the tools people 'use in working out their strategies of relating to each other and the world around them'. However, the political situation in South

Africa - colonial conquest of the independent African societies completed in the 19th century where people were subject to some form or other forms of colonial rule (Mermelstein, 1987:103) - brought about new styles of performing arts among African people.[1]

South Africa, like almost all African states, was 'colonised' by the Europeans. The indigenous people's 'economic assets have evaporated with the seizure of their land by the powerful settlers' (Dwane, 1979:8). The legal system in South Africa is based on Roman-Dutch Law. The earliest Dutch settlers owned slaves -- either imported from the Far East or captured locally. Settlers in the Cape deeply resented the abolition of slavery by the British in the 1830s; and it may be largely true to suggest that, despite abolition, and some attempts at liberalization, a master/slave attitude towards all Africans has forever since tended not only to persist in South Africa, but also become increasingly enshrined in an enormous bulk of repressive legislation.

Many laws were passed in the colonial period which deprived Africans of their rights. These include the Masters and Servants Acts, requiring Africans among other things to sign contracts and carry passes (Mermel-

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1. 'Africans' in this context refers to the indigenous black people, the so-called 'Coloureds' and Indians are not included.

stein, 1987:51-2), passed in Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape between 1856 and 1904 (Luckhardt and Wall, 1980:149); the 1913 Land Act, which reserved 86% of the land for Whites (Lonsdale, 1988:54); and the 1910 Union of South Africa and the 1961 Republic of South Africa, which excluded the African people from participating in public life (Dube, 1983:13). This resulted in the struggle for national liberation by the African people.

The African people in South Africa are 'oppressed as a subject nation... and therefore, the struggle is a national struggle' (Sobukwe, in Karis and Gerhart, 3, 1977:507). Apartheid is a structure which 'ensures the continued domination of an alliance of two minority national groups over the majority, the descendants of the original possessers of the land' (Kavanagh, 1985:9). Nationalism refers to a 'set of symbols or beliefs providing the sense of being part of a single political community' (Giddens, 1989:303), and national struggle is to strive for self assertion and independence as a nation.

The struggle for national liberation has been unfolding in many forms, including the political, military and cultural fronts. My concern in this thesis will be to survey the cultural front. Since the cultural front is broad, I will look specifically at the political

role of music in South Africa. However, it is unrealistic to abstract music from other closely associated forms of performing art, like dance, drama, and izibongo (poetry). Therefore I shall be referring to political performing arts rather than merely to music.

The purpose of the thesis is to survey why and how political performing arts have been involved in the condemnation of oppression and in promoting national liberation. Secondly, how successful have they been in their role of supporting liberation. Freeman (1957:219) has noted that:

> social protest verses merge when the members of a society are deprived of other mechanisms of protest. Such songs will be found in any disfranchised segment of society and will persist as long as these individuals are deprived of other more direct techniques of action. These verses represent an attempt of the members of the society to cope with unacceptable social conditions. On the other hand, they may diminish frustrations -- they allow the individual to 'let off steam' in a congenial group setting and thereby to adjust to social conditions as they are. On the other hand they may accomplish social change through mobilizing group sentiment. In either case such verses function to reduce societal imbalance and to integrate the society.

The line I have taken to some extent follows Merriam's theory: 'study of music in culture': 'music sound is the result of human behavioral processes that are shaped by the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the people who comprise a particular culture' (Merriam, 1964:6). The role

of music is as significant as that of any other facet of culture for perceiving the operations of the society (ibid, 15). When associated with the rest of culture it 'can and does shape, strengthen and channel social, political, economic, linguistic, religious, and other kinds of behaviour' (ibid).

Following Merriam's 'music in culture' orientation, Coplan has made a major contribution in his important study of the development of 'performing culture' in South Africa since the 19th century. Although his concern was not principally with the political role of this material, a number of his comments are nevertheless of significance here. He quotes Peacock (Coplan, 1985:239) who argues that:

> urban theatrical performances promote psychocultural change in their audiences... the modernisation of consciousness by this means may provide a basis for collective social and political action outside the performance arena.

Also implemented are conjectures of power and symbols: the role of symbols in the wielding of power (Cohen, 1974:ix), a point that has been picked up by Kaemmer (op, cit. 32), who related theories of

power to music as a form of symbol and a source of power. [2] I have also demonstrated in chapter five how music as a form of symbol is used to consolidate power. In chapter four I have shown how music is used as what Kaemmer (ibid, 37) calls a 'symbol in its own right, particularly as a vehicle for symbolic texts', and taking advantage of the ambiguity and lack of understanding of African languages by the Government. Coplan, (op. cit. 243-5) has also observed that performing arts are the source of power to determine a change. I have demonstrated this point in sections 5.3.4., 5.4.2., 5.4.3.2. and 5.4.3.4.

Again, emphasis has been placed on the enactment-centred or performance-centred approach, focusing on music as defined by event, and on the interaction of elements in the performance event. This means, among other things, to 'identify the context of the performance, the total situation in which is produced, and to understand its social and cultural dynamics...' (Quereshi, 1987:58), as the music 'varies

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2. Cohen defines symbols as 'objects, acts, concepts, or linguistic formations that stand ambiguously for a multiplicity of disparate meanings, evoke sentiments and emotions, and impel men into action' (loc. cit.). As Kaemmer infers from this: 'Symbol in this sense is broad enough to include music, and serve as the basis of relating music to social power' (loc. cit.).

with variation in the context of its performance' (ibid, 57). I have also taken into consideration Evans-Pritchard's theory of looking at a subject not as a succession of independent events, but as linked events (quoted in Kaemmer, ibid. 43). Kaemmer has also recognised that an account of musical cultures should not be the 'succession of musical structures, but rather the links between them' (ibid). See also Abrahams, (1970:300) and Bauman, (1975) who believe that verbal art cannot be fully understood until it is related ... to the system of performance.

The above theories require, among other things, dependence on "symbolic interactionism" - 'a relatively distinctive approach to the study of human group life and human conduct' (Blumer, 1969:1) and semiotics, to be able to 'assess the process of interaction in emic terms...' (Behague, 1984:7). Another feature that offers the strongest likelihood of eliciting accurate information and interpretation of the musical occasion is participant observation (ibid. 9).

Employed also is the theory of functionalism á la Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, that is, looking at music as a functioning component of culture, and the role of music in the social and cultural structure of a human being. This point has been developed in sections 6.1.1. -

- 6.1.10. Focus has also been on the synchronic, through a concern with the complex of existing events, and on the ideographic approach through fieldwork. Taking advantage of my 'emic' [3], insider's understanding, I have utilised the theory of 'participant observation' (see preface about my background). However, I am not claiming to understand automatically the thoughts of the people, as my academic training is also Western. Vilakazi (1978:241) has noted that in South Africa a Black researcher:

> is always painfully aware that as an academic he has been co-opted into a dominant and oppressive system in which he and his group are the dominated, and that through his training, he has absorbed the ideologically-oriented values of his teachers.

At the same time Western training enabled me to become Bi-Musical: knowledge on theories about the music of the world instead of Western theories only (Hood, 1960:56-7), thus looking at the performing arts above Western chauvinism and eurocentrism. Powers (1970:70) says it

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3. Pike (1954) adapted the term 'emic' from phonemic to denote the insider: 'emic' conception outcome as from observation from inside the culture (Joseph, 1985:8).

is not likely to be able to 'think Indian' if you do not speak any Indian language.

To obtain positive results in my fieldwork and to win confidence among the informants (as political discussions were still sensitive in South Africa), I applied Zemp's (1979:32) approach: and avoided direct questioning, acquiring knowledge instead by provoking political discussions that involved performing arts, and participating in these discussions. This technique avoids forcing incorrect answers: Hood (1963:189-90) has noted that 'although (the informant) may not know the answer, it is considered impolite, if not rude in some societies not to give some kind of answer'. Moreover, some people feel ashamed to be ignorant of the questions they were supposed to know, and give false information to avoid embarrassment.

Lastly, I have not used the traditional Marxist theory by which conflict in South Africa is considered as being between the capitalists and the workers, and where racial differences within the proletariat are of no importance, and only the struggle against the ruling class is seen as significant. Also not used is the so-called neo-Marxist approach of certain 'revisionist' historians, who started to publish 'suggestive and original studies of Black South African history, cast in the idiom of modern European Marxist

thought' (Kuper, 1986:4). It has been remarked that these historians' conception about Africans is 'based on texts which are largely divorced from context'. They have not acquired idiographic knowledge through fieldwork, but have relied on the work of liberals whose 'empiricism is a guarantee of doing fieldwork' (Mafeje, 1981:137), (see Marks and Atmore, 1980:7). Boas (1943:314) says: 'to understand the thoughts of a people the whole analysis of experience must be based on their concepts, not ours'.

I have, however, applied a theoretical approach that has been implemented by many nationalist intellectuals in Africa: the nationalist view (Kuper, op. cit. 3). This is because nationalism is frequently reflected in political performing arts of South Africa. I have demonstrated in chapter 1 and again in section 6.3.1. and 6.3.2. how nationalism is reflected in performing arts.

## 1.2. CONCEPTS AND MEANINGS

### 1.2.1. Politics and performing arts

Radcliffe-Brown has observed that in political organization one has to 'deal with the maintenance or establishment of social order, within a territorial framework, by the organized exercise of coercive

authority...' (Radcliffe-Brown, 1970:xiv). This means that politics involves social and public activity, hence 'activity occurring with and among groups', and a 'struggle among actors pursuing conflicting desires on public issues' (Van Dycke, quoted from Winter and Bellows, 1985:11).

Longman English Larousse defines 'perform' as the execution of a stage role, play, piece of music, etc., in public. Bauman (1974:291) refers to performance as 'a unifying thread tying together the marked, segregated aesthetic genres and other spheres of verbal behaviour into a general unified conception of verbal art as a way of speaking'. Abrahams (1972:75) refers to performance as 'a demonstration of culture, one of the products of men getting together with other men and working out expressive means of operating together'. 'Arts' means skills reflected 'through creative disciplines, like literature, poetry, drama, dance, and the visual arts (The Encyclopaedia Americana). Performing arts means: the 'art' basically comprises the transient action or process of performing, rather than a tangible, lasting product, and involves audience. Finnegan (1970:2) has commented on this point:

> ...music and dance...are art forms which...are actualised in and through their performance and, furthermore, in a sense depend on repeated performances for their continued existence...the actual delivery is an important aspect of the whole...they only attain their true fulfilment when actually performed.

With regard to the audience Finnegan says: 'the artist is typically face to face with his public and can take advantage of this to enhance the impact and even sometimes the content of his words...by the speaker's gestures, expression, and mimicry' (op. cit. 4). 'The focus of the ntsomi-performance is the image...objectified before an audience by means of controlled song...and dance...' (Scheub, op. cit. 42). Bauman also maintains that performance involves 'accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out...' (op. cit. 293). Coplan (op. cit. 269) has also defined 'performing arts' as 'creative musical, dance, dramatic, and oral narrative poetic skills realised in public performance'. Where such arts are applied to serve political ends, especially in the South African context of the struggle for African liberation I shall be using the term 'political performing arts'.

### 1.2.2. 'Working class'

There will be reference oftentimes to working class in this thesis. Radcliffe-Brown (op. cit. xxi) has again observed that:

> the social structure of any society includes some differentiation of social role between persons and between classes of persons. The role of an individual is the part he plays in the total social life -- economic, political, religious, etc. ... As we pass from the simpler to the more

> complex societies we find increasing differentiation of individual from individual and usually some more or less definite division of the community into classes...

I will not be using Marxist theory of a working class: where farmers and farm labourers are not considered working class in a non-colonial world, as they are considered a happy group which is not concerned about the class struggle (Robertson, 1985:46). I have used Scruton's (1983:496) definition of a working class:

> ...wage labour, whether or not that class has substantial holdings of private property, and whether or not it has ownership in or control over the means of production...and includes some peasants.

Regarding South Africa, Coplan has provided the following definition of the working class: 'unskilled or semi-skilled people or families of people ordinarily employed within the formal economic sector' (1985:271). In South Africa there are two types

of African working class: the 'rural (i.e. wage) labourers in a capitalist agriculture...' (Kavanagh, 1985:10),[4] and the urban working class.

1.2.3. Cultural invasion and culture alienation

Giddens defines culture as a concept that 'concerns the way of life of the members of a given society - their habits and customs, together with the material goods they produce (Giddens, 1989:31-32). Sekou Toure defines culture as a 'synthesis of all the systems, principles and ways of thinking and acting...' (Sekou Toure, 1979:439). It (culture) is characterised by the following conditions: 'preserving one's self-esteem, being aware of oneself, one's personality, and one's

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4. This is affected by special legislation: section 10 rights clause of the Influx control under the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 that 'specified criteria for urban residence. Individuals who qualified for urban residence thus have ...Section 10 rights' (quoted in Wilmot, 1987:89). Under this section rural workers class have to 'get authorization to be in a city beyond a seventy-two-hour period; they had to get work, and they had to get housing' (ibid. 82-83). Farm workers are not included in the Section, and cannot work in the cities. When they (farm workers) retire or lose their jobs they must go to the Bantustans (Mermelstein, op. cit. 120).

universality, seeking to increase one's social usefulness thus attaining a higher degree of humanity...' (ibid. 440).

Scruton has referred to culture as 'activities which embellish and colour the process of survival, and give to it its distinctive local forms'. (Scruton, op. cit. 110). This covers such items as customs, habits, religious observations, and other beliefs (ibid. 109). Freire (1985:129) refers to cultural invasion as something that:

> serves the ends of conquest and the preservation of oppression, always involves a parochial view of reality, a static perception of the world, and the imposition of one world view upon another. It implies the 'superiority' of the invader and the 'inferiority' of those who are invaded, as well as the imposition of values by the former, who possess the latter and are afraid of losing them.

By alienation I have used Grimms' Worterbuch definition: entfremden as 'fremd machen, berauben, nehmen, entledigen'; that is: 'to make alien, to rob, to take, to strip of' (quoted in Schacht, 1971:5). The International Encyclopedia of Sociology defines alienation as: Loss or estrangement, either from one's self or from Society (1984:07). Seeman (1959) refers to alienation as something that could be decomposed into powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness,

isolation and self-estrangement (quoted in The International Encyclopedia of Sociology, ibid. 7).

## 1.3. REVIEW OF THEORIES AND CASE STUDIES ABOUT POLITICAL ROLES OF PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

### 1.3.1. Concentration predominantly on pre-colonial performing arts

Many researchers have made contributions on African performing arts of South Africa. They are concerned in most cases with pre-colonial performing arts: rural oral performing arts. For example, Gunner's contribution on Zulu izibongo (praise poetry) includes reference to its political significance in relation to Zulu nationalism and kingship. Rycroft (1965) has also made a contribution on pre-colonial political performing arts.

Opland's writings on Xhosa praise poetry are of considerable political relevance as also those of Mafeje 1967 which relate to the 'homelands' (also known as the Bantustans) in the rural areas of Transkei and Ciskei. Through the medium of izibongo (praise poetry), criticisms are directed at the leaders of these Bantustans, for instance, Matanzima in the Transkei who accepted Xhosa 'self-government' (Opland, 1984).

Other contributors who concentrated on pre-colonial performing arts are: Jordan (1959), Kunene (1976), Tracey H. (1948), Landeg White (1982), etc.

1.3.2. Passing reference

Most of the contributions on contemporary political performing arts are passing references, particularly if it is on national struggle. For example, Erlmann (1985) and (1985); Steadman (1984); Sitas (1987) von Kotze (1987), Blacking (1981); have remarked on national struggle as a passing reference. Even Stapleton and May (1987) in their contribution on the popular music of the continent of Africa have made a passing reference to political music of South Africa. However, their work is predominantly on the American influence on South African music.

Again Marre and Charlton (1985) in their research on popular music of the world have also commented on South African township music. In their commentary on political music they have made a short and impressionistic contribution on the characteristics of contemporary African political music: citing religion as an instrument to convey people's feelings, with no mention at all of the reasons why people use those methods, thus addressing the results without

reference to the causes', which is unfortunately the case with many researchers. Gunner (1984) has made a little contribution on contemporary political performing arts, and this is that of the Black Consciousness Movement only. Other passing references are from Rycroft (1965 and 1987).

### 1.3.3. Class struggle

Regarding class struggle there seems to be a unanimous reaction that the South African struggle is not a class struggle, as the 'thinking of the entire society is dominated by racial perspectives' (Kavanagh, 1985:8). Legum has traced racial constraints in South Africa as far back as 1685, and has referred to the South African situation as a 'caste system in which all the whites are Brahmins and all the rest Untouchables: which Lancelot Hogben once called a pigmentocracy' (Legum, 1974:6). [5]

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5. As is well known, the 'caste' system is associated with Indian sub-continent cultures. It varies in its structure from area to area, but certain principles are widely shared. There are varna, the Brahmins, which are the highest and represent the most elevated condition of purity, and consist of four categories. At the bottom are the 'untouchables', those in the lowest position of all. (Giddens, op. cit. 206)

Roux has referred to white racial perspectives as schools of thought, and he has observed three main schools of thought which became obvious in the 1922 white workers' strike (Roux, 1972:147). They were characterised by the Afrikaner songs, like the 'Red Flag' song in English to the tune of the old republican 'Volkslied'. On the other side the white Marxist socialists came up with old May Day banner, and on it a racist slogan was written: 'Workers of the world fight and unite for a White South Africa!', a slogan that is still not forgotten by many Africans. Lastly, was a group of 'commandos' organised on the lines of the traditional military organisation of the Voortrekkers (ibid.).

In 1979 white workers in a South African gold mine 'went on a strike as a demonstration of their unrelenting opposition to three Coloureds who were being promoted to do skilled work, traditionally reserved for Whites' (Pheko, 1984:123). Coplan (op. cit. 67) has also commented on the repression of class formation:

> Class formation among black South Africans has been retarded by the impact of racial oppression. Middle-class and working-class identity are often more a matter of culture pattern, social aspiration, and self-perception than income or position in the relations of production.

However, Kavanagh believes that it is time class struggle was taken into consideration as an important social force, despite racial constraints (Kavanagh, op. cit. 5). But is class struggle really feasible in a country where racism is legalised: Population Registration Act, 1950, which 'consigns every South African to a racial group', and the Identification Act, of 1986, which requires all permanent South African residents to be 'classified in terms of the Population Act'? (Bell, quoted from The Times, November 14th 1989): where the group of minorities that controls the political power has lost its original Dutch identity and calls itself Afrikaners?; lastly, where the society is the 'only racial autocracy in the world'? (Legum, op. cit. 145).

### 1.3.4. Performing arts as a propaganda weapon

There have been observations, from time to time, that some performing arts are used to promote the interests of the political liberation movements. Horn (1986) has commented on the point that movements like PAC, ANC and BCM have used performing arts to spread their philosophies.

I have also commented on how the Government has used 'Info Song' to promote its image (Dontsa, 1988:12). This was when the government's Bureau of Information spent over R4 million in payment of the singers of different nationalities who recorded a pop song, 'Together We'll Build a Brighter Future'. The song was also beamed on 19 radio stations and four television stations.

Anderson (1984) has also pointed out that the Ipi Tombi group was promoting the Government's image in South Africa and abroad. It promoted tribalism as well as apartheid and a happy black South African. It has also been shown how SABC network has been used by the Bureau of Information in promoting a National Song Festival (Dontsa, loc. cit.)

1.3.5. Concentration mostly on stage performance

It has been indicated that little analysis has been done on contemporary political performing arts. Moreover, emphasis has been on arts like drama and poetry that are meant for stage performance. Other components of political arts like slogans, jingles, call-response performances found in picketing have not been addressed, except by Gunner (1984), covering slogans only, in pre-colonial performing arts. Lastly, little has been written on theoretical

analysis of contemporary political song texts, like the freedom songs' texts, and the role of political performing arts in the society.

In conclusion nothing has been written about the form of contemporary political performing arts* except passing reference by people like Mzamane (1984); Gunner (1984); Horn (1986) Erlmann (1988); et al. where they observed continuity with the past in contemporary political performing arts. This is the area I have indicated earlier, that among other subjects I will concentrate on.

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* in South Africa

# CHAPTER 2

# MANIFESTATION OF THE DETERMINANTS THAT ACTUATED THE EMERGENCE AND ESCALATION OF POLITICAL PERFORMING ARTS

## 2.0. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will examine how the national struggle has been reflected through performing arts. Topics like yearning for freedom, objection to land dispossession, national consciousness, assertion of national and individual identity, objection to the creation of the Bantustans will be considered. I will also survey other components, interwoven with nationalism, which have instigated the emergence and escalation of political performing arts. Topics like objection to conquest, jailing of political leaders, will be addressed.

## 2.1. SPIRIT OF AFRICAN NATIONALISM

### 2.1.1. From local to national issues

I have indicated in chapter 1 that political performing arts did not begin with the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa, but also existed during the times of the Kings. The performance was rather

local and directed in most cases to the kings that were abusing powers (Jordan, 1957:74 and Mafeje, 1967:196).

The arrival of the Europeans; the subsequent loss of the land by the Africans; restrictive and discriminatory legislation in South Africa; and its enforcement through the various modern techniques and machinery wielded by the Government presented a common motive for resistance, protest and national struggle which is shared by the Africans throughout the whole country (Dontsa, op. cit. 9).

### 2.1.2. Yearning for freedom

Whatever performance political performing arts reflect will in most cases express yearning for freedom (Mantshontsho, 5/88). They (political performing arts) 'articulate a desire for political freedom that could not easily be expressed in other ways' (Blacking, 1987:97). There is a great desire to go back to the days of antiquity and freedom of movement. The following poem, 'The regeneration of Africa', by P. Kal Seme (The African Abroad 5 April 1906) is a typical expression of that desire:

> O Africa!
> Like some great century plant that shall bloom
> In ages hence, we watch thee; in our dream
> See in thy swamps the Prospero of our stream;

Thy doors unlocked, where knowledge in her tomb
Hath lain innumerable years in gloom.
Then shalt thou, walking with that morning gleam
Shine as thy sister land with equal beam.

(quoted in Couzens and Patel, 1982:35)

Sol T Plaatje (ibid. 49) has expressed a similar desire, longing for the pre-colonial era:

Speak not to me of the comforts of home,
Tell me of the valleys where the antelopes roam;
Give me my hunting sticks and snares
In the gloaming of the wilderness;

In Modikwe Dikobe's poem, 'Dispossessed' (ibid. 300), there is yearning for the ancient times and he dreams of the old African style of living when livestock and land were in abundance, with no poverty, and polygamy was accepted:

You were born in affluence
Land as vast as sea
Pegging, pegging each seasonal year
A plot for ploughing
Hundreds of livestock you possessed
Your dwellings a fortress
Your wives as many as your fingers...

2.1.3. Land dispossession

Objections were expressed to the dispossession of the land by the Europeans and a struggle for national freedom was advocated. An anonymous poem, AMAGUNYANA'S SOLILOQUY, which appeared in 'Ilanga Lase Natal 18 May 1906 (quoted in Couzens and Patel, ibid. 37) is an example of the objection to land dispossession. The following is an extract from the poem:

> ...Then came a Whiteman with
> That assegai of his, which hurls so fast
> The hurtling ironball, which will not cease
> nor rest till all is his, till foes there's none.
> Before it human flesh however brave must
> Melt like early dew. The goodly herds of
> Choicest game which cropped the grass on yonder
> Plain, he's run to earth and left me naught but
> Grass to eat. He's sectioned out my choicest
> Lands and placed his captains over them and me...

Mrs. A.C. Dube (Ilanga Lase Natal 31 October 1913) expresses the same objection to land dispossession and advocates a national struggle in her poem 'Africa my native land':

> ...But, alas! their efforts were all in vain,
> For today others claim thee as their own;
> No longer can their off-spring cherish thee
> No land to call their own - but outcasts in their own
> Despair of thee I never, never will,
> Struggle I must for freedom - God's great gift -

Till every drop of blood within my veins
Shall dry upon my troubled bones, oh thou Dearest
Native Land.

(quoted from Couzens and Patel, eds.)

Besides poetry, national struggle has been reflected in several different types of performance. It has been expressed through slogans and music. Garvey's ideas of 'Africa for the Africans' were translated into Mayibuye iAfrica (Come back Africa) slogan, an ANC (National: ANC before the adoption of the Freedom Charter in 1955) slogan that promoted African Nationalism (Marks and Trapido, 1987:44-55). These ideas were inherited and popularised by PAC in 1959-60 (Roux, 1972:112). They (PAC members) also felt that the adoption of the freedom charter in 1955 was the end of the national struggle (Ngendane S.T. in Karis; and Gerhart, op. cit. 505-506). PAC's slogan is Izwe lethu iAfrica (Africa for the Africans).

In music, the 1952 ANC (National) defiance campaign song, Thina sizwe esimnyama (We the black nation), is an example of a song that reflects national struggle. Appendix 10.1.1.2. is the text. There is a feeling of resentment over the occupation of land by the Boers, and determination to repossess it. The liberation song, Mabhulu athath' umhlaba wethu (Boers have taken our land) is the example. (Appendix 10.2.2.1.(b) is the text) (tape no. 1)

Reference to leaders of the free African states are often included in the performances as an inspiration. This is also to show that the South African struggle is not isolated from the national struggles of the rest of Africa, but is a continuation of a 'battle raging across the continent' (R.M. Sobukwe, in The Africanist, January 1959 quoted in Karis; and Gerhard, ibid. 507). The PAC freedom song, Amagerila (Guerrillas) is an example that reflects African nationalism, and appendix 10.2.1.1. is the text. (tape no. 2) The 'national anthem' Nkosi sikelel' iAfrica (God bless Africa) composed by Enoch Sontonga in 1889 is another inspiration and has contributed in the development of African Nationalism (Rhodes, 1962:17). The song also 'constituted an informal way of mobilising African sentiment and power against the White minority government' (Kaemmer, op. cit. 37).

Blacking (1987:98) has commented on nationalism as reflected in independent South African church hymns:

> The way in which members of some independent South African churches sang, and much of the music that they sang, expressed opposition to white domination and reinforces the Africanist view of the political future of South Africa.

National struggle is also implied in Erlmann's remark about makwaya* music, as he has observed that 'makwaya manifested the contradictions of the early national struggle...' (quoted in Manuel, op. cit. 107). Appendix 10.2.8.2. is an example of Makwaya freedom song reflecting national struggle. (tape no. 3)

### 2.1.4. National consciousness

Political performing arts reflect the rise of national consciousness, as artists demanded the introduction and performance of indigenous performing arts. H.I.E. Dhlomo has been quoted as saying it was the African's

> main mission on earth...to interpret our own, living cultural heritage to the world. If we sing our own folk-song, we are building a platform on which we can honestly stand and claim equality with the Whiteman. We thereby show that we are not merely borrowers with no background.
>
> (quoted in Erlmann 1983:145-46)

Steadman has commented on this subject: 'Dhlomo was interested in national history and values as reflected in African tradition... He began to demand a specific Africanism in his production...' (Steadman, 1984:140). Many artists use indigenous traditional dress when they perform on stage in South Africa and abroad. Uthingo and

*Neo-traditional, initially township, mixed voice choir music usually sung by groups of four people and over.

Shikisha, South African dance groups based in London, and many South African performing groups perform on stage with traditional dresses. It has been reported also that people on the streets of Johannesburg wear African blankets more than they used to (Knight, 1988:98).

### 2.1.5. Assertion of national and individual identity

It is common in some performing arts to advocate the rejection of christening Africans with despised colonial names, like John, Jim, Jane, etc., instead of indigenous African forenames. For example the slogan abelungu ngoo Dem! basibiza ooJim! (Whites be damned! they call us Jim!). The slogan reflects resentment of the names that Europeans use to call African people. [1] Sobukwe (1989:31) has made similar commentry about the word 'boy':

> we are calling people to assert their personality. We are reminding our people that they are men and women with children of their own and homes of their own, and that

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1. It used to be common for Whites to address any African man or woman indiscriminately as Jim, or Jim Fish - possibly stemming from the contemptuous term, Jim Crow, applied to American blacks.

> just as much as they resent being called 'kwedini' or 'mfana' or 'moshemane' by us -- which is what 'boy' means -- they must equally resent such terms of address by the foreigner...

2.1.6. Creation of the Bantustans

Contemporary political performing arts reflect resentment against the creation of the Bantustans, also known as homelands. They (homelands) are referred to as the cause of misery, suffering, poverty, repression, more detention, ethnocentrism, etc. The poem 'I am a Bantustan' depicts the situation and the conditions under which people live in the Bantustans (appendix 11.1.3.). Again the rejection of the Bantustans is reflected in freedom songs and political slogans. For example, the freedom songs Songena e Azania (We will get into Azania) and Siyakhona le (We are going there), are the examples of performing arts which have themes that reflect objection to the balkanization of the indigenous people's country (appendices 10.2.3.1. and 10.2.7.11. respectively). (tape nos. 4 and 5)

The slogan 'Away with Sebe, Matanzima, Mangope, Mpepu, Botha Alliance, away!' again reflects abhorrence and a total rejection of the Bantustan structures and leaders (appendix 12.3.2.1. (a)).

The drama Sizwe Banzi is dead is another example of performing arts that has themes which reflect objection to the creation of the Bantustans (Coplan, op. cit. 215).

## 2.2. OPPOSITION TO CONQUEST

### 2.2.1. European occupation

According to Ranger (1985:47) 'every sort of African society resisted, and there was resistance in virtually every region of European advance'. In Southern Africa many ethnic groups 'chose armed resistance against the threat of colonialism as did the Xhosa...' (Chanaiwa, 1985:214). There were nine conventional Frontier Wars fought by the Xhosa-speaking people (Peires, 1987:56). They date from 1779, when the first conventional war was fought, to 1877 when the last and ninth war, called War of Ngcayechipi, was fought (ibid. 177).

In the political performing arts some of these wars are reflected in a negative attitude towards Europeans, for example, in izibongo zika Sandile Ngqika (Praises of Sandile Ngqika), the King of the Xhosa-speaking people around 1840s. He fought in the Imfazwe yeZembe (War of the Axe) in 1846 against the British settlers under Colonel Somerset

(Mqhayi, 1931:100). The following example from Rubusana (1911:248) is an extract from izibongo zika Sandile Ngqika. It is characterised by themes that reflect objection to European occupation:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ngundlela zinamachapaz' egazi, | [He is roads are full of blood (because of wars) |
| Ngundlovu inentsente, | He is an Elephant full of dirt |
| Umangange cwilika ka-Gomololo, | He is as great as Gomololo |
| Wok' uve xokindini, wonganzingwa yedwa yeyoMlungu | You have heard you liar, His problems are also the White man's |
| Kub' ufumane wayilwa lamp' imakhwenkwe, | Because he found himself fighting that boyish army (Whites are boys because they are not circumcised) |
| Ngumntaka-Smiti umntan' okumkani, | Sir H. Smith (Governor of the Cape then) of the King of England |
| Babekhe bambamba bams' eRini | Arrested him and sent him to Grahamstown] |

Another example of objection is reflected in izibongo zika Maqoma (Maqoma's praises), another Xhosa King fought in Imfazwe kaMlanjeni (battle of Mlanjeni) in 1850-53 against Colonel Fordyce (Rubusana, ibid. 260-61). The following example is an extract from izibongo zikaMaqoma (Maqoma's praises):

| | |
|---|---|
| Yingwe ka-Fuldayis' eMthontsi | [He is the tiger to Fordyce at Mthontsi |
| Ngumafel' esiqithini kwesomlungu. | He died on Robben Island.] |

War of Ngcayechibi is reflected in izibongo zikaSigonyela Gcumeni, um-Nyele (Gcumeni praises). The war was fought between the Xhosa-

speaking and the British (Rubusana, ibid. 405 and 557). The following extract is from izibongo zika Sigonyela (Sigonyela's praises):

| | |
|---|---|
| Inkumanda yenza imity' emibini, | [The army was divided into two groups |
| Yehla neBholo eyase-Cumakala, | The Bholo side came from Stutterheim |
| Ayama-Ngqik' emaninz' e-Ngcelwane. | Ngqika people were many from Ngcelwane |
| Le ihla ne-Ntsikizi yeyase-Bhede, | The Bhedes came through Ntsikizi |
| Az' ama-Tshatshu, ayingena ngasemva | Tshatshu people helped from behind |
| Ayiyeka yakufun' ukulunga, | They left it at the brink of defeat |
| Kub' iramncwa liliwa ngamaqhinga, | Because a monster is fought subtly |
| Ndakhangel' ukuqubisana kwama-Ngqika nabelungu | I watched war between the Ngqikas and the British |
| Kwalal' imikhuthuka ngamacal' omabini, | The weak fell from both sides |
| Ayiyeka kwakufun' ukulunga. | They left it at the brink of defeat.] |

The Zulu people had also objected to the European invasion, as they 'successfully resisted the intrusion of the missionaries, and the European traders...who had by then reached the conclusion that the conquest and dismantling of these resistant African states was essential' (Chanaiwa, loc. cit. 200). The 'last' battle between the Zulus and the Europeans was fought in 1906. The leader of the Zulus was chief Bambata, and Bambata's Rebellion was named after him (Gerhart; and Karis, Vol. 4, 1977:7-8).

In political performing arts, objection is reflected in performances like the Zulu regimental song which commemorates the stand taken by Dingane against the Voortrekker invaders of Natal in

the 1830s (Rycroft, 1965:54). The following is an example of the song that expresses objection:

| | |
|---|---|
| Sunduz' amabhunu ahambe! | Drive out the Boers, make them go! |
| Hoshoza! | Poke them out (like a snake from its hole) |
| Bathi uyalon' izwe, | Some say he (Dingane) is ruining the country! |
| Ingani uyalungis' abafo | But at any rate he is 'fixing' the foreigners! |

The word sunduza (drive out) in the first line implies objection with contempt. It also reflects that the Boer occupation is not welcomed at all, and is like the invasion of a snake in the house. This is implied in hoshoza (poke them out). The last line, ingani uyalungis' abafo (but at any rate he is 'fixing' the foreigners), implies endorsement and approval of the techniques applied by Dingane.

Mqhayi (1948:76) has remarked about the objection to the European conquest by the Zulus in his poem Isandlwana. The following extract is the example from the poem:

| | |
|---|---|
| Kwavel' umfo phesha kolwandle! | [There came a man from overseas |
| Weza ngegunya nendelo; | He came with authority and contempt |
| Wacim' izithethe namasiko; | He destroyed culture and customs |
| Wakhathaz' uZul' ezihlalele; | He provoked Zulu |
| Waqumba kakhul' okaMpande, | Mpande was very much upset |
| Imbumbul' ecim' umulilo; | The bullet that extinguishes fire |
| Indlov' enebatha yaseLundini; | An elephant with a hoof, of Lundini |

| | |
|---|---|
| Wathum' amabuth' ukubuz' imvelaphi, | He sent regiments to attack |
| Adl' omnye kwanomnye, | They killed one and another |
| Adla lo, nalo, nalowa! | They killed this one and that one! |
| Be kuyizolo nezolo | It was yesterday and yesterday |
| Nezolo nezol' elinye! | And yesterday and yesterday but one |
| | |
| Wavel' uNtshingwayo phambili! | There appeared Ntshingwayo leading |
| Ekhusel' umhlaba kaZulu, | Defending the land of Zulu |
| Eth' iAfrika ma ibuye! | Saying 'Come back Africa'! |
| Ay' ecim' ilanga amabutho; | The army destroyed indiscriminately |
| Nalamatyholw' angandingqinela; | And these bushes can bear witness; |
| UManz' amnyam' uyayazi loo nto; | Manz'amnyama (river) knows that |
| Kub' amanz' akh' abaligazi; | Because the water once turned to blood |
| Ungandivumel uMzinyathi; | The Mzinyathi regiment can agree with me |
| Kuba wawubona ngamehlo, | Because they witnessed with their eyes |
| Uyiv' ingoma ngendlebe, | Hearing chants with their ears |
| Be kuyizolo nezolo, | It was yesterday and yesterday |
| Nezolo nezol' elinye! | And yesterday and yesterday but one |

The Sotho-speaking people also fought wars of resistance against the Boer invasion in the 19th century under King Moshoeshoe of Lesotho in Thaba Bosiu before it became Basutoland protectorate under the British Government. This is reflected in Mqhayi's poem Thaba Busio (Mqhayi, op. cit. 75). The following is an extract from the poem Thaba Busio expressing objection to the invasion:

| | |
|---|---|
| Zavel iintshaba zachithwa | Enemies came and were dispersed |
| Ema bume amaBulu, | To the surprise of the Boers |
| Aqhawulw' intamo ngezixengxe, | They were cut-throats with bayonets |
| Akhalis' izulu lezandla, | They (Boers) shot with guns |
| Yakhusel' iNtab' obusuku, | But Thaba Busio defended |
| Aphel' amandl' ezinandile, | The power of the guns went out of steam |
| Wakhul' uElembeja, | Elembeja group grew |
| Netyholo lika Mabille! | And Mabille's bushes! [2] |

2. Mabille was a French missionary, of the Paris Evangelical mission.

## 2.3. PERFORMANCES PREDOMINANTLY BASED ON URBAN EXPERIENCES

### 2.3.1. From rural to urban performance

The establishing of gold and diamond mines towards the end of the nineteenth century, the 1913 Land Act* and the establishment of the cities led to an influx of the Africans to urban areas with their artists. Secondly, the introduction of modern technology made it easier for political performances to reach an audience throughout South Africa, as it 'infinitely expanded its range through the media of radio, television, sound recording, stage and cinema' (Dontsa, op. cit. 9). Opland has this to say in connection with technology: 'Mqanda exploits the new technology of printing and the new medium of publication to reach an audience potentially wider than the imbongi** through an oral performance' (Opland, 1984:181). As a result of the above factors political performing arts moved from rural to urban issues and performances.

Lastly, after the establishment of the Bantustans by the Government, political performing arts became virtually non-existent in the rural areas. This was because of the attacks by the artists against

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*Native Land Act

**Refer to page 173

the homelands and their leaders who were being accused of collaborating with the Government. To show how serious this was, Transkei and Ciskei resorted to exactly the same kind or repression as used by the South African Government: they enacted security legislation and passed the following Security act in 1977 (quoted in Opland, ibid. 181):

> It is an offence for any person to make any statement, verbally or in writing or perform any act which is intended or likely to have the effect of subverting or interfering with the authority of any chief or headman, and it is an offence to treat any chief or headman with disrespect, contempt or ridicule or fail or neglect to show that respect and obedience and to render such service to such chief or headman as should be shown or rendered in accordance with customary laws.

2.3.2. Injustice and oppression

Performances also reflect injustices and oppression which is perpetuated in South Africa. They write about the Government's Draconian laws and actions or ill-treatment of the people by the police, and the situation in South Africa. For instance, King Kong, a 'musical', is about a black fighter who

has defeated all his opponents and is forbidden by apartheid to fight his chief white challenger (Stapleton; and May, 1987:195), something that would have opened chances for him to meet other world boxers. This led to the boxer's downfall, as he turns gangster and finally commits suicide (ibid.). Too late, by Kente, shows the 'evils of the pass system and the miseries of influx control'. 'They parody education and religion and hit at the inhumanity of white officialdom' (Mbanjwa 1975:212).

Other performances include Bongi's Struggle by Zwelakhe Mtsaka, produced by Shikisha Arts in London, March 1987. The play depicts the suffering women in Crossroads, Cape Town South Africa; and police harassments as they try to make a living as well as trying to help those arrested in jail. Woza Albert by Ngema, performed at the Young Vic Theatre and Hackney Empire Theatre in London, December 1986, is another play reflecting injustice and oppression. The play is about the living conditions in South African townships, and reflects events that led to the 1976 uprisings. Hungry Earth by Maponya portrays miners working conditions in the compounds and with no benefits. The Island by Fugard is an illustration of the hardships of the political prisoners in jails. Some of these plays include video recording sections, from television, demonstrating Draconian actions by the

police. Perhaps this is done to give a vivid picture of the situation in South Africa. For instance, You Can't Stop the Revolution is an example. Most plays involve addresses to the audience instead of dialogue between characters.

2.3.3. Reflection of the problems of the African people

There is a great amount of reference to the 'life and problems of the blacks...in the black townships' (Marre/Charlton, 1985:37). Larlham has also observed that Kente in Mama and the Load, produced in 1980, 'uses visible stage imagery to illustrate its central themes of poverty and family disintegration, the decline of adult moral authority and guidance...' (quoted in Coplan, op. cit. 212). Authors are 'using theatre to transform political consciousness by the reflexive heightening and intensifying of black experience on the stage' (ibid. 224). In 1966 Kente produced Sikalo, a musical melodrama that dealt with gangsterism, inter-generational conflict, social disorganisation and physical suffering in the township' (ibid. 208). A clear reflection of the problems of the African people is in the song Stimela by Hugh Masekela. The song depicts the way of life experienced by mineworkers. They leave families behind at home to go and work in the coalmines. Sleeping in the compounds is abnormal and bean soup called inyula is detestable. The following is the text of the song:

| | |
|---|---|
| Stimela sihamba ngamalahle | Coaltrain from |
| Sivela Dalagubayi | Delagoa Bay |
| Sangilahla kwa Guqa | Let me off in Witbank |
| Bathi si zomba malahle | Say we go dig for coal |
| Iyo sidl' inyul' enkomponi | Damn! we eat 'shit' in the compound |
| Sihleli njengezinja | We live the dogs' life |
| Emigodini | In the mines underground |
| Sikhalel' izihlobo zethu | We long for our families |
| Sikhalel' izingane zethu | We long for our children |
| Sikhalel' abazali bethu | We long for our parents |
| Sikhalel' abafazi bethu | We long for our women |

response

| | |
|---|---|
| Masibuyelen' eDalagubayi | Let's go back to Delagoa Bay |

2.3.4. Struggle to survive

Some performances reflect the struggle for survival, and this is demonstrated by scenes (in the artists' performances) that reflect 'Tsotsism, prostitution, and physical and social conditions in the African areas' (Coplan, op. cit. 165). The deliberate use of torn clothes (instead of costume as it is the case in Western theatres) by the actors on stage is the reflection of poverty and struggle for existence among other things.

Artists like Manaka, Maponya, have reflected themes of struggle to survive in their works. For example Maponya's song in his play The Hungry Earth depicts the dangerous conditions in the mines and the determination of the African people who have to work under those conditions because they want to survive:

> Touched by our non-violent vibrations
> We will rise up
> We will sing while we crawl to the mine
> We will rise up
> Bleeding through the days of poverty
> We will fight hard
> Pulsing in the hot dark ground
> We will rise up
> Dying in the stubborn hungry earth
> We will fight hard
> We will rise up
> And we will sing loud
> Against the hungry earth
>
> (quoted from Steadman, 1981:7)

### 2.3.5. Soldiers in the townships

The on-going state of emergency and keeping of soldiers in the townships are reflected in the political performing arts, and is detested and protested against in every possible manner. Toyi-toyi* slogans, like 'Move out of our townships, move out!' are other examples (appendix 12.3.1.2.(a)). Masekela has also composed

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*Refer to page 150

a song about the South African troops in the townships. The following song, 'Bird on the wind', is an example (254 573-4 V France WE 481):

| | |
|---|---|
| Khipha mapoyisa, laph' eSoweto | Move the police out of Soweto |
| Khipha lamasoja, eGugulethu | Move Soldiers out of Gugulethu |

## 2.4. POLITICAL LEADERS AND DETENTIONS

### 2.4.1. Praising political leaders

Praise of political leaders, struggling for the liberation, is another feature of political performing arts, and this is common in most African societies involved in national struggle. Rhodes has observed this characteristic among the Zambian people. A praise song was performed in honour of Nkumbula, President of the African National Congress (Rhodes, 1962:18). Leakey has also made a similar observation regarding the Kikuyu people in Kenya during the struggle for national liberation (Leakey, 1954:57).

In South Africa the same characteristic is reflected in the freedom song, sesith'i yebo chief Luthuli, Nawe Dr Naicker sikelela (We say

yes chief Luthuli. And you Dr Naiker, liberate us) [3] (Rhodes, op. cit. 19). Yebo (= 'yes' in Zulu) implies approval of whatever task chief Luthuli was engaged in, or was mandated to him. There is confidence among the people in him and Dr Naicker that their leadership can bring liberation.

### 2.4.2. Crying for jailed and exiled political leaders

There is a great cry and demand for the release and calling back of the jailed, exiled (sometimes dead) political leaders expressed in the political performing arts. For example, names like Sobukwe, Mothopeng, Lebalo, Pokela, Luthuli, Mandela, Tambo, Biko, are often heard in most performances. Possibly this is done to create constant reminders to the people that there are leaders jailed, in exile or dead, and people should 'not sit, but do something about them'(Manyoko, 8/1989).

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3. Chief Luthuli was the president of the ANC from December 1952 until 1968. Naicker G.M. was twice president of the South African Indian Congress and undisputed leader of Natal Indians for over 15 years (Gerhart and Karis, vol 4, op. cit. 60 and 107).

Makeba's song Bahleli bonke etilongweni (They are all detained in jail) and the freedom song 'Az' b'uphin' uTambo (I wonder where Tambo could be) in appendices 10.1.1.4. and 10.1.6.2. are the examples of political performing arts about jailed and exiled leaders. (tape no. 6)(Thanks to Lorry Strelitz for the tape recording of 'Az' b'uphin' uTambo.)

2.4.3. Impact of the detentions for indefinite period

The detention of the political leaders, indefinitely, and the creation of 'The Sobukwe Clause' [4] have led to the writing and composition of many songs about them and the emergence of a new cult. One sometimes wonders what will happen to these compositions should these leaders be released. Possibly people will change words like 'release' and

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4. 'The Sobukwe Clause' was a clause that was created by the Government to keep Sobukwe (president of the Pan-Africanist Congress) in Robben Island for another six years after he had finished his sentence (quoted from the International Defence and Aid Fund, 1978:161).

replace them with the ones that will be suitable for that particular situation. The poem 'Sobukwe' (appendix 11.1.4.) is an example.

Masekela's song 'Bring him back home' from his album Tomorrow (254 573-4 U) is another example. The following is the text from the song:

Bring back Nelson Mandela,
Bring him back home to Soweto
I want to see him walking down the street
Of South Africa.
I want to see him walking hand in hand
With Winnie Mandela

Response

| | |
|---|---|
| Mayibuye (i-Afrika) | Come back (Africa) |
| Buya Mandela isizwe silindile | Come back Mandela the nation is waiting |
| Buya Mandela ulwil' usekhathele | Come back you must be tired of fighting |

# CHAPTER 3

# CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

## 3.0. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will look at how indigenous elements have been incorporated into contemporary political performing arts, and how the performing artists have adapted traditional genres and other genres from parts of Africa and in the diaspora, and from the rest of the world. Secondly, there will be a survey of how political performing arts have been produced for market rather than the manifestation of oppression and other purposes they have been initially produced for. Lastly, I will examine how they (political performing arts) have been manipulated for political gains.

## 3.1. CONTINUITY WITH THE PAST

### 3.1.1. Advocating the preservation of African culture

Concern can be observed in the works of the Zulu writer R.R.R. Dhlomo who was worried about the gradual loss of African culture and history,

since performing artists were not controlling the publishing industry: 'Our folklore and historical records must be preserved from dying out, as well as anything of racial pride, by means of literature, otherwise these will be lost forever and our connection with the past forgotten' (The New Nation, August 27 - September 2, 1987).

Rubusana (op. cit. V) has also commented on this point and expressed great concern too:

> Incwadi yamabali enjengale kunye nezibongo ezikhoyo esiXhoseni sekuyiminyaka umbhali lo ebona ukuba iyafuneka emzini, ngokukodwa kwimpi entsha evelayo, engazinto ngezinto zomzi esinguwo. Ukuba ukufa kwamadoda amakhulu ebesazi amabali ethu, lo mabali engazuzwanga kuwo abhalwe, - kube yilahleko enkulu kuthi thina maXhosa. Ngoko ke nakuba siqale sekusemva, sithi masesihlanganisa imvuthuluka eseleyo yalo mabali, ukuze izizukulwana ezizayo zazi ukuba kwakhe kwakho izizwe ezisithi.
>
> [For many years the author has felt that a book of Xhosa stories and poems of this kind should be made available among the Xhosa people, especially among the younger generation who do not know anything about African culture. The dying of old men who knew our history, a history that was never obtained from them and written down, - has been a great loss to the Xhosa people. Nevertheless, although we have started late, let us take the remaining 'crumbs' of those stories, so that the future generation knows that there was once a nation of us.]

Mqhayi (1935:15) has expressed a similar commentary to Rubusana's, on this point:

> Intetho nemikhwa yesiXhosa iya itshona ngokutshona ngenxa yeli Zwi nokhanyo olukhoyo, oluze nezizwe zasentshonalanga, oonyana baka Gogi noMagogi. Yindawo yomlisela nomthinjana, wasemaXhoseni, ukuba ukhangele ngokucokisekileyo ukuba iya kuthi yakutshonela iphele le ntetho nale mikhwa inesidima yakowawo, kutshonele ntoni na emveni koko?
>
> [The language and the Xhosa culture is gradually disappearing because of the present 'Scripture', and the civilization brought by West, sons of Gog and Magog. It is the duty of the adults and the youths of the Xhosa people to watch carefully, because what next is to disappear if the language, culture and its dignity disappear?]

Wherever the artists perform, they declare who they should be, in comparison with who they are now or who they have been made to be. They also feel that it is their responsibility as artists to pass on this culture to the youth. This will enable them (youth) to know who they are so that they do not lose direction and culture. Jonas Gwangwa when interviewed by a German Radio station in Hamburg (Thanks to Victor Williams for the tape recording of the interview) says:

> We have to retain the identity of our people. You can only be identified with your culture. So that is why I am dealing with the young, so that we can pass on this message to them, tell them who they are, because they will otherwise just lose direction...

### 3.1.2. Suspicions of the arrival of the missionaries

Political performing arts sometimes express suspicion of the missionaries, suggesting that they came to eradicate the culture of the indigenous people. This is reflected in some of the actions of missionaries like the Rev. James Stewart. He is accused of refusing to use his pages, as the editor of Isigidimi newspaper, for the preservation of traditional material. He is quoted as saying: 'There is very little in old Kaffirdom worth preserving...' (Opland, op. cit. 179). Erlmann (op. cit. 133) has commented on this point: 'After the completion of the military conquest of the Eastern Cape in the early 1800s and the subsequent loss of land, mission stations soon became prime sources of change...'

According to one poem, when the British missionaries arrived in South Africa they were accompanied by soldiers, and this was regarded with suspicion. This is reflected in Mqhayi's ironic poem The Prince of Britain translated by Kavanagh and Qangule (1974:16). The following is an extract from Mqhayi's poem:

> Hayi, the mighty Great Britain!
> Here she comes with bible and bottle,
> Here she comes, a missionary escorted by a soldier,
> with gunpowder and guns,
> with cannons and breechloader.
> Forgive me, O Father, but which of these must we accept?

The use of antithesis in line two above implies that the arrival of the missionaries has been treated with great suspicion. In lines three, four and five the artist is developing his theory of suspicion. Line six is a rhetorical question, as Mqhayi has already answered himself by implication. The 'contrary twist' of this line is reminiscent of the type of 'conclusion' often found in Izibongo* stanzas (see Cope, 1968:54).

Sundkler (1961:19) has this to say about resistance against the missionaries by the Zulu churches: '...the African has put up a strong resistance to the mission's attempted conquest. The independent

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*Refer to page 30

Zulu churches may well be regarded as a symptom of an inner revolt against the White man's missionary crusade...'

Again, Mqhayi is giving warning in izibongo zika Sarhili (praises of Sarhili). 'yidlan' umnga niqhelisele, ningabantu benkosi ezondekayo' (eat the mimosa tree very much, implying adhere to your traditions, you are the people of a hated chief) (Stewart Xhosa Readers, Standard VI:102). This means that people should not abandon their traditional ways of life as they protect them against the enemy. It also implies that Mqhayi is suspicious of the theories of conversion by the missionaries.

Kunene (1970:10) expressed a similar remark about the British missionary: 'he preached about a god whose repugnance for the ways of the pagans proved to be based on English criteria. Indeed his disapproval in some cases closely matched the interests of the British Empire.'

3.1.3. Adoption of indigenous techniques

In most cases, in black drama in South Africa the same characters sing, act and dance in the same performance. For instance, Long March by workers from B.T.R. Sarmcol, performed by the workers of Sarmcol of South Africa at the Young Vic and Hackney Theatres in London, November 1987 is an example. It is characteristic of African traditional performance to sing, act and/or dance at the same time. For instance in indlam (stamping dance) the dancers sing, and in dithoko (Sotho praises) each actor is also a singer.

In two-character performances only two characters perform, each playing several parts. This reflects continuity with the traditional acting that occurs in folk tales, like the Xhosa intsomi or Zulu inganekwane, where the narrator often uses gestures, and mimics the voices of different characters - sometimes animals. Two-character performances include plays like Sizwe Banzi is Dead by Fugard, Ntshona and Kani, produced in South Africa in 1972.

Playwrights do not necessarily adopt Western theatrical devices to depict the situation in South Africa. But they bring in long speeches that dramatise the set-up and an actor-to-audience address, a typical feature of intsomi (folk tale) performance. You Can't Stop the Revolution* is in this style. Horn (1986:222) has remarked on this point:

> oral traditions of storytelling and recitations, characters relate and animate events...in long narrative monologues, thus placing emphasis upon the actor and his ability to capture the audience's attention and imagination without assistance from many of the theatrical devices employed on the commercial stage.

An artist can sometimes compose a poem during a seminar gathering, writing it down while people are delivering their speeches. After deliberations he/she would stand up and read the poem. Pitika likes to do that a lot. This is similar to the traditional poet: another reflection of continuity. Schapera has written on this subject, regarding the Tswana poems (Schapera 1965:6).

The involvement of the audience is another feature of traditional performing arts. Pitika Ntuli also likes to involve the audience when he is performing. He would teach a song by asking the audience to imitate him. When the audience knows the words he tells the people

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* produced by Durban Upstairs Theatre in 1988.

the meaning of the song. After that he asks them to sing with him. For instance, Kwenzeni makunje nje nje? (What the hell is going on?) is one of the songs he likes to teach the audience. The song has political overtones because of the context in which it is performed, it means: why is there so much instability in South Africa? The focus is on the music as defined by event. Qureshi has written on this point, refer to section 1.1.1. above. A performance that involves an audience was performed by Pitika Ntuli at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, in February, 1988.

Sometimes Pitika would compose some work based on what was discussed in a seminar he has attended. When the opportunity comes he would stand up and read his work. this is similar to what traditional iimbongi do. The only difference would be that Pitika composes and performs in English, because of 'transculturation'. I have developed this point in 3.3.7.

### 3.1.4. Belief in ancestral powers

There is a constant invocation to the leaders of the past to shower blessings over the movement, to provide strength, inspiration and courage. For example, the freedom songs Thel' umoya Lembede (Pour on

the spirit) in appendix 10.2.4.3. (b), and Sekulixesha (It is time) in appendix 10.2.8.1. are the examples. (tape nos. 7 and 8) This technique also shows continuity with the traditional performing arts where an imbongi* would start his performance by reciting pedigree (William Shaw, quoted in Opland, 1984:184).

### 3.1.5. Use of amagwijo and izitibili tunes

Political performing arts involve amagwijo [1] and izitibili (sounds) [2] tunes. Amagwijo used in political performing arts are adapted chants from the original chants. For example, the Amandla (power) chant in appendix 13.2.1. (b) is an adapted chant of Ilanga (sun) chant in appendix 13.2.1. (a), (tape no. 9) (Thanks to Lory Strelitz

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*Refer to page 173

1. Amagwijo are indigenous songs sung on various occasion; each occasion has its amagwijo. Hansen (1981:752) has referred to igwijo as 'a "personal" song or "signature tune" of a person or group of persons, usually sung exclusively by the owner.'

2. 'Izitibili' are a genre that reflects African contact with Western music. They comprise a blending of traditional rhythmic patterns and a foreign scale. Hansen (ibid. 459) has made a similar observation regarding 'sounds': '...they reveal a combination of the harmonies of Western European hymn tunes (common chords and cadences), and the rhythms and parallel movement of traditional Xhosa music...'

for the tape recording). The use of amagwijo demonstrates continuity with the traditional performing arts where amagwijo are sometimes used to register complaints to the kings and chiefs. Secondly, amagwijo are meant to elate and they can easily make one join any activity they are meant for.

Perhaps the use of izitibili in political performing arts is meant to reach everybody. This is because they are sung by children and adults at 'school, ...school concerts and tea-meetings, weddings, installations, school sports, fetes, ...in the new urban society,... by iindlavini at their umtshotsho parties and at umboloro...' * (Hansen, ibid. 465).

### 3.1.6. Political heroes and past events

Reference to the political heroes like Moshoeshoe, Shaka, Hintsa, Sekhukhuni, for inspiration is another common characteristic of political performing arts. This is also to strengthen unity among African groups as the Government has divided them (Mantshontsho, 1988). Again the freedom song, Sekulixesha (refer to 2.2.2. above) is a good example.

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*See Hansen (1981) for the meaning.

There is also a great deal of reference to battles and skirmishes between Africans and Europeans, like the 1960 Pondoland skirmish and Mbashe killings near Mbashe river in 1960. Reference to the Sharpeville and Langa massacres is also often found in political performing arts. This technique is also common in African performing society, and it is meant to 'draw inspiration from the heroes of Thaba Busio and the battle of Isandlwana, Sandile's Kop Keiskama Hoek and numerous other battlefields' (Sobukwe, op. cit. 30). Mqhayi has also written poems on Thaba Busio and the battle of Isandlwana (refer to 2.2.1.). The freedom song Bangakanani (How many are they?) is an example of a song that is meant to draw inspiration (see appendix 10.2.11.2.). (tape no. 10) Reference to dead political leaders and incidents like battles is another form of allusion, a characteristic of indigenous performing arts.

## 3.2. USE OF POPULAR GENRES

### 3.2.1. Application of current genres

It is a common thing to hear genres that are popular, like Makwaya;* S'cathamiya**, Mbaqanga***, African-American 'spiritual' music, etc., in political performing arts. Perhaps this is meant to make sure that a

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*Refer to page 55

**Neo-traditional music sung mainly by the Ladysmith Black Mambazo, a Zulu male voice choir.

***See page 167

large proportion of the audience has received the message. This method helps in that it reaches the listeners more quickly than a political rally's message. Messages are sent in various forms, for example, sometimes through radio stations, like 'Radio Freedom' of the African National Congress of South Africa (Manuel, op. cit. 110). One can hear political music from South Africa's radios. Sometimes tapes are sent to bookshops that sell political literature, long-play music records, and cassette tapes, for sale.

The song Bakithi (Our people) in appendix 10.2.10.1. is an example of Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania (South Africa) political song adapted from S'cathamiya genre (tape 11). (Thanks to Kalipile Sizani for the tape.) The song 'Crossing the river Zambezi' has been adapted from the African-American 'spiritual' 'Soon one morning' (appendix 13.6.1. (b)). Erlmann (1985) has commented on this point about Makwaya: 'makwaya came to be associated with the African Nationalist movement...' (quoted in Manuel, ibid. 107). Again, Ballantine has also made a similar remark on this point about Marabi:* 'Marabi...contained political commentary or protest' (Ballantine, 1988:2).

*Neo-traditional township music before Mbaqanga, usually with Western instrumental accompaniment.

## 3.3. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT (BCM) AND PERFORMING ARTS

### 3.3.1. Link between cultural and political fronts

The Black Consciousness Movement, founded in 1969, established a cultural wing in 1972. Its aim was to 'create a direct link between cultural and political liberation' (Steadman 1984:143). The main objective was the 'reawakenening and heightening of cultural awareness and of involvement of the black people in their struggle for identity, self-respect, and liberation (Gwala 1973:210).

The front had many different groups that were performing, and one of them was called MDALI (Xhosa/Zulu: 'creator' or Music, Dance, Art, Literature Institute),of which groups like Mihloti (tears) were affiliates. No White membership was allowed in these groups, and all performances were conducted in the townships. If Whites wanted to watch performances they were allowed to come to the townships (Nkutu, April 1987). Whites' demand to be included in Black activities was viewed by Blacks as a 'lack of confidence by Whites in Blacks who do not want Whites' inclusion in their activity' (Gwala ibid. 107).

The Cultural front was used in 'formulating and communicating an ideology of African cultural re-evaluation and rehabilitation... and had therefore to attempt to restore cultural identity and autonomy...' (Coplan, op. cit. 222). Black Consciousness cultural activists do not have their own freedom songs like ANC and PAC freedom songs. They sing freedom songs of these movements. Possibly this is because BCM did not have its own original political ideology, as it did not begin as a liberation movement, but a student organization (Mtlhabi, 1984:107-111). Secondly, its leaders idolized leaders of the ANC, PAC and Unity movements. Lastly, perhaps because its objective was to forge unity between ANC, PAC and Unity Movement (Vincent Segwayi at the All-African People Revolutionary Party (A-APRP) conference in London 1988).

### 3.3.2. Psychological liberation of the Black mind

Self-determination, self-realisation, and self-support were some of the objectives of the Black Consciousness Movement, a campaign initiated by PAC. This came as a result of a myth of White superiority and Black inferiority which had been implanted in the minds of the African people. Perhaps, as suggested by Mzotane, the myth of White superiority over Blacks in South Africa was the result of the

implementation of the Masters and Servants Acts between 1856 and 1926 (Mzotane, at a conference of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, December, 1987). Under these acts Africans would not be considered as 'employees' (Luckhardt and Wall, 1980:106). This built an attitude of arrogance and contempt among some White South Africans to the extent of thinking that Black people could not succeed without the Whites involvement (Mzotane, 12/87).

Another objective of the Black Consciousness Cultural Movement was to destroy that myth. Unfortunately, self-determination was interpreted as racism in White quarters, and Black Consciousness was accused of practising racism in reverse. Biko defended the allegations by saying: racism is a 'discrimination by a group against another for the purposes of subjugation...one cannot be a racist unless he has the power to subjugate' (Biko, 1987:25).

In order to destroy that myth of White superiority performances aimed at mental liberation were to be written or composed and performed. A distinction between 'Black drama' and 'drama produced by Blacks' was made. Black drama is a 'liberating weapon that seeks to break down the psychological oppression that has shackled the Black man...and through comment, reporting and reflecting they seek to turn a Black man towards a more positive appraisal of himself' (Gwala, op. cit. 105).

Drama produced by Blacks is the drama that has 'Black actors, directors and depicts Black scenes', but 'does not place sufficient emphasis upon the creation of a revolutionary mood and does not see Black liberation as a priority' (ibid. 106). The 'Black' in Black drama 'is allied with liberation, the search for dignity and self-reliance' (ibid).

Black Consciousness performing arts was meant to bring back confidence: 'a belief of Blacks in themselves...So they might forge their own standards rather than accept standards put and dictated to them by other groups. We want to discard the "you are good if a White man says so" theory' (Gwala ibid. 113).

### 3.3.3. Back to the grassroots

One other objective of the Black Consciousness Movement was the aspiration for the ability of each group in South Africa to 'attain its style of existence without encroaching on or being thwarted by another' (Biko loc. cit. 21). In order to attain this, Black consciousness believed in going back to the grassroots. This is reflected by the continuous introduction of the indigenous performing arts in urban areas during the Black Consciousness era,irrespective of allegations

(labelled against the movement) of 'playing into the hands of the state by encouraging tribal music' (Anderson, 1981:18).

Continuity with the past is also reflected in the style of the Black Consciousness artists. For instance, in Wally Serote's poem 'City Johannesburg' one observes traditional style in its opening line, 'I greet you'. Many indigenous poems reflect that style, for example, Dudayisi Dontsa liked to salute people with the Camagu (I greet you) slogan when performing. The word camagu is used by the diviners when they greet people. Gunner (op. cit. 441-2) has this to say on this point:

> through their effortless presentation of the past they (Black Consciousness performing arts) provide a certain rich continuity of experience which contrasts with the disjunctive and frequently bewildering present and its devaluation of personal and social life...

### 3.3.4. Anti-Eurocentrism

Objection to Eurocentrism was pronounced and overt during the Black Consciousness era. Their performances 'signified the first radical departure from European influence' (Steadman, loc. cit. 143). They were not compromising, the standards were theirs; the material was the type of material they wanted to use (Phetoe, 6/1987). MDALI (Music, Dance, Art, Literature Institute) sought to promote self-determination, self-

realisation, and self-support in theatre arts...' (quoted in Opland, loc. cit. 223).

LeRoi Jones has remarked on this point regarding white Americans: it has always been the 'fanatical and almost instinctive assumption of the Western white man that his systems and ideas about the world are the most desirable, and further, that people who do not aspire to them...are "savages or enemies" (LeRoi Jones, 1970:8). Moreover, in America, Whites as owners of the black people, they, Americans, were in a position to 'declare that all thought outside their known systems was at least "backward" (ibid.).

As a result of this white chauvinism Bebop 'amounted to a black rebellion against the bleaching tendencies of the cool/West Coast whites' (Kofsky, op. cit. 25). It was another instrument used to renew pride in the black roots of jazz, to raise consciousness of the black people, and something that would eventually liberate them from the shackles of racist subjugation (ibid. 38). Its development occurred 'simultaneously with a rank-and-file revolt by the blues people against white middleclass values in music...' (ibid. 103).

Joseph Berger has also commented similarly about America and Eurocentrism: emphasis on European history, literature, music and art is changing (Berger, in the International Herald Tribune, April 13th, 1989:1). Anti-Eurocentrism is 'paying greater attention to the native view of the world rather than the way the European perceived these things' (Kagan, ibid. 5).

### 3.3.5. From page to stage performance

Black Consciousness performing artists' decision to 'move from page to stage' was because the artists did not have confidence in White publishers and White record companies, like Gallo, as they believed that they are part of the 'system' (Tladi, 1987). Phindangene also believed that artists did not want their works to be edited and produced by the people they are criticising, i.e., White people, as Whites would not appreciate anything out of works that are condemning them, especially liberals whom the Black Consciousness activists loathed. BCM activitsts accused liberals of 'diluting and delaying the struggle' (Phindangene 9/1988). Steve Biko has written about the liberals on this point (Biko, op. cit. 17-26). Lastly, Black Consciousness artists decided not to publish their poems because they 'spurn the literary elitism of published poets' (Emmett, quoted in Opland, op. cit. 185).

### 3.3.6. Non-action technique

Yet another technique used by Black Consciousness performing artists is non-action technique. This means reading poems in front of the audience alone or over the music without any movement or action, something that is uncharacteristic of African performing artists of South Africa. According to Pheto, action was replaced by the use of rhythms, that is, indigenous amagubu (drums). I have developed this point in 3.4.1. He also said that movements or action in performances that are delivered in English would not reflect indigenous forms and would not convey the message properly (Pheto, 6/87).

### 3.3.7. From extemporal performance to written works

Poets, for instance, may just stand up, and come forward to the stage with a book full of poems, select three or four of them from their book and read them, and then return to their seats. It is possible that performers express themselves in writing because they are performing in English which is a Second language to them, and they are performing for an audience that does not understand their language. For those who perform in their mother tongue, it is possible that it is not

easy to act on impulse, as many could not finish one sentence in their various languages without interpolating English words, because of 'transculturation'. Since another quality of a good poet is to recite without 'jerks' and with extemporaneity, they decided to read their poems.

### 3.3.8. Language mixing

Gunner (op. cit. 434) observed the use of bilingualism in Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) performing arts. I would like to pick up that point and address it, as it is one other feature of contemporary political performing arts popularised by the BCM. Although Gunner has indicated what researchers could explore in the use of bilingual voices: style, translation and audience communication (ibid.), I will go further and comment on one or two other points in addition.

The combination of several languages in one work is done for effect. There are many concepts that lose their impact if translated, and are more effective for a particular audience when expressed in a particular language (Pheto, 1987). The following extract from H.D.T. (1926) poem is an example:

So, vat jou goed and with you trek [3]
To hell, you cracked buffoon.
And, cloven-footed Beeskop Nick,... (ox-head, Afrikaans)

(quoted in Couzens and Patel, op. cit. 59)

The mixing of different languages reflects 'transculturation', and it is noticeable in marginal political performing arts, like izitibili* 'sounds': works that combine traditional and foreign patterns. (I have written about marginal songs in section 7.3.2.). For example, the song Siyahlupheka (We are suffering) in appendix 10.2.7.7. is an example of a bilingual political isitibili (sound). (Tape no. 12)

Sometimes the use of different languages is applied in order to distinguish types of people: Urban Africans, especially youth, speak tsotsitaal . [4] This gives them a higher status than the rural

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3. Vat jou goed: This comes from the title and first line of a well — known Afrikaans folk song 'Vat jou goed en trek, Ferreira' (Take your belongings and leave, Ferreira). The expression has a pejorative conotation in this context. Beeskop: ox-head (Afrikaans).

4. A combination of African languages, colloquial words and foreign languages, especially Afrikaans in the Transvaal and Cape Town.

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*Refer to page 82

Africans, as the intention is to obscure. [5] Tsotsitaal is common in contemporary drama and some Black Consciousness poems. For instance, Dikobe (1982:299) has written a poem in tsotsitaal. The following is an extract from that poem:

> More kom. You've said, baas (Afrikaans for Come tomorrow, sir)
> Before cockcrow
> I must be up
> Plaaskom (farm)

Another performance that is multi-lingual is toyi-toyi. (Refer to 5.4.3. for the meaning of toyi-toyi.) The combination of languages in toyi-toyi performance is for stylistic purposes: some words do not fit at a particular place, because they are too short or too long and therefore disturb the rhythm. A fitting word is used for replacement (interview with Boy-boy (pseudonym) Faku in Grahamstown, August 1988). I have written on this point in 5.4.3.2.; and also appendix 12.3.1. (a) and (b) for an example of toyi-toyi.

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5. Coplan has defined tsotsitaal: or flytaal; mensetaal as the Afrikaans-based urban African proletarian dialect, spoken by all urban African proletarians up until the 1960s, but especially by young juvenile delinquents, some of whom spoke no other language (Coplan, op. cit. 271).

Lastly, when a particular concept cannot be interpreted, like idioms, swearing, etc., to express appreciation and respect, bilingual voices can be used. For example during Sobukwe's memorial service Pheto included swearing. He was reciting in English and was swearing in an African language. Swearing in this context was meant to express respect, although other people thought he was insulting (Pheto, 6/87).

## 3.4. DRAWING FROM OTHER CULTURES

### 3.4.1. Poetry combined with drumming

Poets often play drums to accompany poems when performing, using izigubhu/amagubu (indigenous cowhide drums). The reasons are that other types of percussion are 'dry', said Dumisani Mabaso in Hamburg, West Germany, in April 1987. Secondly, the artists are performing African poems and therefore they need African drums to give African feeling in the presentation of poems (Nkutu, 4/87). Another reason for using African drums was that they were 'reading poems without action, unlike the traditional South African black poets, and the drums were filling that gap' (Pheto, 6/87). The tape recording of the drum ensemble by Pula (tape no. 13) is an example (appendix 11.1.2.).

When Pula was performing this poem a replica of an AK-47 gun was brought on stage. This is symbolical and implies that armed struggle is also considered as a solution (Pheto, 1987). Kaemmer (op. cit. 40) has also observed that in Zimbabwe the song 'Take Cover' which was 'presented with sound effects imitating guns and a young man dancing in a camouflage uniform with wooden rifle', and the song 'Tondobayana' (We Stab Each Other) were 'used as symbolic expression for the liberation war'. The technique of performing without music accompaniment is common in West Africa.

### 3.4.2. Situation depicted from the instrumental performance

Sometimes performances do not include any reading: an artist will tell the story at the beginning and a non-verbal performance follows. It seems as if this technique has also been drawn from West Africa. For example, THUSA (The Heart Under South Africa), drum ensemble formed in London in 1987 in celebration of Black South African Arts and Culture, was not reading poetry. In their performance about the 1976 uprisings, they divided the performance into four sections reflected by four sequences in the drums. These sequences represent four events that took place during the riots. According to Pheto, the first sequence reflects the normal situation, students going up and down attending

classes. This is demonstrated in the first sequence, as the drummers are playing with relaxation. Lately, some students carry banners with words like, 'Away with Afrikaans'. (Tape no. 14)

The police come and the situation becomes more and more tense. Students are arguing with the police, and there is turmoil. Police fire tear gas and live ammunition, and students hit back. All these situations, from the arrival of the police to the clashes with the students are reflected by the roll of the drums. Soloist improvisation suggests argument between the police and the students.

The second section depicts dead bodies lying on the ground after the police have shot them. It also gives one a picture of the time when the school children are carrying dead bodies of their colleagues shot by the police. Students pay their last respects to them, and this is implied in the soft drumming for a while in the second cycle of the second section. After this short silence students realised that while those who are alive 'close the eyes of the dead, the dead open the eyes of the living'. In short the struggle continues. This is reflected in the performance that follows, full of action that implies encouragement after a shocking experience. (Tape no. 15) A piano section follows, and this signifies the funeral ceremony and rituals. Music has successfully conveyed the funeral feeling by the use of

piano, humming and the slow tempo of the music. The use of piano reflects culture contact, the performers are withdrawing from the experiences of other people where, in most cases, a piano that is played in this manner expresses a feeling of depression.

A disorderly drum roll, piano and other drum improvisation follow and this means that the attention of the people is being drawn to something else. A drum soloist follows immediately in three sixteenth notes and an eighth note interval patterns. This implies a call for action, since there is no time for mourning. It is also implied in the lively performance that follows the drum soloist. (Tape no. 16)

The last section is an address to the parents to join the students. At this juncture participants left the stage one by one. I was also present during this performance at Oval Centre in London, June 1987. (Thanks to Molefe Pheto for allowing me to record the performance.) After a short while they came back, and instead of bowing they raised their fists to show that it was not a mere performance but a message to the audience, that is, power to the people - a slogan of encouragement. (Tape no. 17) Pheto told the story before the beginning of the performance.

Andrzejewski (1967) has commented on this point about the Ashanti people who played talking drums to express their hatred of the British Governor in 1900. The drums were repeating the words of an old war song: 'Slowly but surely we shall kill "Adinkra"' (British) (quoted in Rhodes, op. cit. 15).

The adoption of 'Negro' spirituals, Reggae, European stylistic features, etc. is another way of drawing strength from the experiences of other people. It is also an appeal to the world to become more involved and more committed to the South African struggle, as people sing about it the music reminds them of the days of suffering (Mantshontsho/88). Lastly, it makes people feel that their struggle is part of a larger struggle.

### 3.4.3. Picketing

Picketing is another cultural phenomenon and characteristic that involves performance, that is drawn from other cultures. It involves use of songs, slogans and chant cries, and demonstrates what one is trying to make a statement about. It highlights issues and attracts attention in a way to publicise the cause (Houghton, 1987).

It takes different shapes - visual and audible. Visual picketing involves banners, posters, written T-shirts, flags, stickers, the number of people one can get, etc. Audible picketing involves slogans, songs, chant cries, etc. The two work if used effectively: if people organise themselves before picketing and rehearse their songs, chants and slogans where a person asks a question and the crowd responds.

Picketing can be very effective because not only does it build a sense of collectivity between the people who are picketing and the people who are rallying around, it also builds something for people who are on the outside, that is, it is a form of education (Houghton/1987). The people who are picketing are representing certain philosophies, reflected by the banners under which they sing (Manyoko/1988).

T-shirts and banners convey messages to the onlookers, that is why the first thing the 'enemy' does in picketing is to chase people who are carrying flags or banners or wearing T-shirts. Messages, like slogans Asijiki! (there is no turning back!) make people on the outside curious to come and find out or join. T-shirts have a 'telegraphic influence which it passes over to the onlooker. It serves as a source of information to the onlookers, in that it tells them how far have the picketers gone with the struggle' (Phindangene/1988).

Some people object to picketing, however: picketing nauseates and annoys, and that means satisfaction to the performers as this results in action. I remember talking to one student at John Adams Hall (December 1987 at the Institute of Education, London), where this student remarked furiously that there is nothing that annoys him like the non stop Trafalgar Square picketing of South Africa House. (picketing that started in 1986 by Anti-Apartheid City Group for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.)

## 3.5. RELIGION

### 3.5.1. Its role in politics

Freedom songs involve songs that are adapted from religious hymns of different denominations. For example, the 1952 ANC Defiance Campaign songs, Joyinani (Join) and Senzeni na? (What have we done), have been adapted from Yivani ezindaba and Ndimthanda uMkhululi wam (I love my saviour) respectively (appendices 10.1.2.3. (a) - 10.1.2.4. (b)). The former religious tune comes from a Moravian hymn (by Bennie, 1914:67). (Thanks to Zolile Keke for the adapted freedom song, Joyinani (Join).) (Tape no. 18)

Freedom songs adapted from religious songs are involved because through them singers are 'saying strong and critical things that other people do not dare say' (Marre and Charlton, op. cit. 43). Religious songs are also involved in political performing arts because they are, as Leakey (1954:56) says:

> a quick and effective way to reach the hearts of the people and to prepare them to receive the speeches and ideas of their leaders. The 'hymns' were, moreover, specifically announced as being the result of a special revelation by God and were thereby given the blessing and force of supernatural messages.

Again it is possible that the inclusion of religious political songs in politics is applied because of the belief by both Africans and Europeans in supernatural beings: ancestors in the case of the Africans, and God in the case of Europeans. These possess the ultimate powers (Kaemmer, op. cit. 35).

### 3.5.2. Ridiculing some religious activities

Sometimes the involvement of religious themes in political dramas, like bringing in the priest in times of trouble, is meant to ridicule some practices in religion (Steve Khala, Hamburg, Germany 4/87). Take, for instance, the Sounds of Soweto, a South African group based in London in 1978. In their drama 72 Hours the priest is brought in to pray when somebody has received 72 hours' notice to leave the city. Praying would not stop the Government from expelling people from the urban areas. Again, in Woza Albert (By Ngema) one actor ridicules Jerusalem as a place full of trouble while people are yearning to reach it.

## 3.6. WORKERS AND THE PERFORMING ARTS

### 3.6.1. Promoting unity

The Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) Worker choirs did not spring up suddenly, they were choirs belonging to different firms or industries who used to compete against one another. Secondly, adapting words of work songs and from different genres, and

expressing objections, is a common element among the workers. Rycroft has commented on this point:

> Perhaps reminiscent (in some ways) of industrial brass bands in Britain, South African factory workers and black trade unions each have their own choir, and songs which consolidate loyalty and neutralise ethnic diversity...Of course there is a long-established tradition of adapting the words of work songs, or of respectable Christian hymns, to express veiled political protest or to call for concerted action. (Rycroft, 1989:4-5)

There is a campaign for unity in the workers' freedom songs, and the realisation among the workers that the economy is on their side and is the key to national liberation. The following songs by the Federation of South African Trade Unions (FOSATU) Worker Choirs express unity among the workers (Mbube Singing Company, thanks to Dr Gunner for the tape):

| Vuka Afrika | (Wake up Africa) |
|---|---|
| Vuka vuka vuka Afrika | Wake up Africa |
| Bonke abasebenzi mababambisane | All workers unite |
| Bonke abasebenzi mabasebenzisane | All workers should work together |
| Sakhi sizwe ngemisebenzi yethu | And build the nation with our labour |
| Masibonge uFOSATU ngemisebenzi yakhe | Let us thank FOSATU for its work |

| | |
|---|---|
| Ilizwe ngeluthu | (The land is ours) |
| Kudala sisebenzela amabunu | We have long been labouring for Boers |
| Basebenzi masihlanganeni | Workers let us unite |
| Amandla awethu | Power to the people |
| Basebenzi masihlanganeni | Workers let us unite |
| So lima ejele | We would better land in jail rather than labouring |
| Kudala sisebenzela amabunu | We have long been working for the Boers |
| Basebenzi masihlanganeni | Workers let us unite |

### 3.6.2. Confidence in the workers' union

Some songs reflect that workers put trust in the unions to represent them in the clamour for the workers' rights, and they have confidence that their union has the workers' interests at heart. Workers are determined not to let down their devoted leaders but to follow them. They are also pleased that they have a union that does not fight only for better working conditions and better payment, but a union that involves itself even in political sphere. The following FOSATU songs are some of the examples:

| Siyabonga FOSATU | (Let us thank FOSATU) |
|---|---|
| Asimbongeni uFOSATU | Let us thank FOSATU |
| Umele isizwe esintsundu | It represents the black nation |
| Sibonga kuse umfo Dlamini no mfo | We thank you Dlamini and |
| Maseko i kukhona amadoda | Maseko and the people |
| Nezinsizwa esinazo | who help you |
| Umakulukhuni senzeni, nabheka thina | Even if it's tough, |
| Soyibamba intsimbi ishisa | We will grab the hot iron |
| Noma sekunzima | Even it it's tough |
| We mfo Dlamini bekezela | Dlamini persevere |

| Umkhulumeli iFOSATU imbala | (FOSATU the representative) |
|---|---|
| Sizwe esimnyama sisebumnyameni | The black nation is in the dark |
| Sofa ngami thina | We will die unaware |
| Asinamkhulumeli epalamendeni | We have no representation in parliament |
| Sofa ngami thina | We will die unaware |
| Kepha sesinaye umkhulumeli | But now we have a representative |
| U FOSATU imbala | Thee FOSATU |
| Umkhulumeli uFOSATU imbala | Thee FOSATU the representative |

### 3.6.3. Employment: a political issue

Workers also believe that their employers are also their oppressors or friends of the Government, and when they fight employers they are also fighting the system. When they make claims they do not refer to their employers only but to the Government as well, because the prevailing conditions are also political. They call upon the workers to unite in

order to defeat the enemy. The following examples are some of the FOSATU freedom songs reflecting the struggle for rights from the employers and the Government:

| Nika abantu | (Give the people) |
|---|---|
| Botha nika abantu abakufunayo | Botha give the people what they want |
| Mphathi, nika abasebenzi abakufunayo | Governor give the people what they want |
| Induna nika nika abasebenzi abakufunayo | Manager, give the workers what they want |

| Hlanganani | (Unite) |
|---|---|
| Hlanganani basebenzi nibemunye | Come together workers and be one |
| Ukuze sinqobe abaqashi ngeningi | So that we can defeat employers in numbers |
| Siyanincusa basebenzi | We call upon you workers |
| Hlanganani senizonqoba | Unite, the victory is certain |
| Hlanganani basebenzi nibemunye | Come together workers and be one |
| Phutumani basebenzi nibemunye | Unite workers and be one |
| Nizonqoba ngeningi | So that you can defeat in numbers |
| Siyanincusa basebenzi | We call on you workers |
| Hlanganani senizonqoba | Unite, the victory is certain |
| Hlanganani basebenzi senizonqoba | Unite, workers conquest is nearby |

## 3.7. CONDESCENSION AND OPPORTUNISM

### 3.7.1. Romanticising the struggle

Cry Freedom is based on two books by Donald Woods. AZAPO believes that these books make people 'view the development of black consciousness and the life of its leader in terms of a sexy theme - such as a friendship across-the-colour-line'... and that 'will trivialise and distort the subject matter' (Sunday Times, September 20th, 1987:3). On the other hand, Peter Jones, Steve Biko's friend, has dismissed Donald Wood's book, Asking for Trouble as 'more a romantic ego trip than a historically and politically precise work' (ibid.), probably because it is his own autobiography.

The concentration of television camera crews and newspaper reporters on the manner in which women are portrayed, sometimes being illtreated by the police during demonstrations against the government, romanticises the struggle. Peter McKenzie (in Staffrider, 1982:18) has written on this subject, 'Irresponsible cropping, caption and lay-out can distort the intended meaning of single photographs and photo essays'. For example, the picture in plate I gives a false role of


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JOIN THE ANTI APARTHEID MOVEMENT
AA

Plate 1

women in the struggle. Secondly women do not want to be pitied. Statements like, 'those are women beaten by the police' [6] irritate them rather than impressing them.

### 3.7.2. Bringing in petty issues

The two-and-half-hour Mandela movie, shown on British television in October 1987, which the producers described as a 'love story that depicts the astonishing bond between Nelson and Winnie Mandela' (Sunday Times, loc. cit.) has been referred to as a film which 'reduces Mandela's ideological sacrifices to some dumb romance' (Daily Dispatch October 30th, 1987).

The Mandela concert organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, celebrating his 70th birthday, and held in Wembley Stadium on

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6. Granada documentary organised by Dr Shula Marks for her class at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London 1987.

the 11th June, 1988 has been regarded as the 'manifestation of the new banality which yokes pop music extravaganzas to political crises or national suffering and trivializes serious issues. (The Times, June 11th, 1988).

## 3.8. COMMERCIAL PURPOSES

### 3.8.1. Profit-making movies

Like Rambo (American movie about the rescue of the American soldiers in Vietnam) in America, Cry Freedom and Mandela television movies were 'made solely for commercial reasons' (Daily Dispatch, October 30th, 1987). They were meant to entertain and not to make people aware of the situation in South Africa. Movies which are meant to make people aware are documentary films. Mr Tucker (Daily Dispatch, September 21st, 1987) confirmed that 'Mandela was not a documentary. It was a drama...'

Again, it is reported that black consciousness leaders have been 'sniping at self-exiled South African editor Donald Woods, on whose books the Biko film is partly based, for "exploiting" his friendship with Biko for personal aggrandisement and commercial gain' (Daily Dispatch, October 30th, 1987).

3.8.2. Mandela concert

The contribution of the various artists in Mandela concerts is widely acclaimed as being highly commendable, since they support the cause. This is reflected by the fact that their performance was free. But the political organisations or support groups involved (e. g. the Anti-Apartheid Movement) are not free from blame. Firstly, the high amount they charged at the gates for this show was highly unbelievable, £25.00 which was equivalent to approximately $50.00 U.S. or R100 South African. To think that at the theatre halls the organisers charge £5-6 at the doors during the performance of one of these groups and they (the organisers) are still going to pay the artists out of the money they have collected. (interview with James of the City of London Anti-Apartheid Movement, in London 1988)

Donations could have covered television and other preparatory expenses if that was a reason for such high charges. Moreover, before the concert some people expressed reservations about the cause and assurances that the money would reach the intended people (The Times, June 11th, 1988). This is because there were no explanations as to how people would know if the money did go to the intended people. The only remark from the organisers was that the concert made over £2 million.

## 3.9. MANIPULATION OF PERFORMING ARTS

### 3.9.1. Funerals and other religious beliefs

In funeral ceremonies of political activists political performing arts take the place of religious performing arts. This includes singing political songs, like Hamba kahle mkhonto wesizwe (Safe journey spear of the nation) (ANC freedom song), Thina sizwe se Afrika (We the nation of Africa) (PAC freedom song), Senzeni na? (What have we done?) (adapted freedom song) instead of religious hymns; reading of political poems and praises instead of scripture reading and sermons; and shouting political slogans instead of prayers and benedictions.

In my interview with Irungu he said funerals are no longer occasions for mourning, but to mobilise and recruit (Houghton,11/88). The former Zimbabwe president,Rev.C.Banana, has said something on this subject that implied recruitment and manipulation: 'When I see a terrorist I see Christ' (quoted by an American priest on a South African television interview sometime between June and September, 1988). This technique has been used even in the Gulf war between Iraq and Iran. They always have the will to fight, irrespective of the rising number of deaths, and they are not afraid because they believe that when they die they

will see Allah (Vuyiswa Ngqobongwana, in All African People's Revolutionary Party conference November 1988). As a result this strategy worked for them in the Gulf war.

### 3.9.2. Financing artists to promote political organisations

Political Performing Arts are entertaining activities which are performed to convey political messages and to raise the consciousness of the people about the situation. They attract many people to come and watch, listen and participate. Some members of the political organisations are also performing artists and they use performing arts to convey political messages. For example, Jonas Gwangwa, Julian Bahula, Wally Serote, for ANC, Pitika Ntuli for PAC, Pula Arts Commune for BCM (all based in London).

Some organisations give popular artists or popular band groups financial assistance to organise political festivals where members of the organisations will be present and deliver some speeches. For example, 'Culture in another South Africa (CASA), a festival (held in Amsterdam December, 1987) organised by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement in liaison with the ANC'. Sometimes organisations want to

hoist their flags while band groups are performing (interview with Shikisha arts group, London 3/1987, and Tladi, 4/1987). I have written on this subject (see Dontsa, op. cit. 11-12).

## 3.10. COUNTER-MANIPULATION

### 3.10.1. Government propaganda

While political artists are promoting political awareness about the situation in South Africa, the Government is also working on the other side. It uses both the oppressed people and white band groups to promote South Africa to the world. That is why we have seen performing arts groups like Ipi 'Tombi, which enjoyed many tours all over the world including the United Nations headquarters in New York (interview with Steve Khala in Hamburg, Germany April, 1987). Anderson (op. cit. 100-101) has commented on this point that Ipi 'Tombi is one of the most efficient propaganda tools the Government has. It promotes tribalism, and the creation of a black middle class. It also gives the impression that black people are happy in South Africa.

Another enterprise is the 'Info Song' [7] group. The government, through the Department of Information, spent over R4 million for the composition and beaming of a pop song, Together We'll Build a Brighter Future. The song calls for the people of all colours to come together and work towards a peaceful future, while satisfying basic needs like education of children, homes and other securities. I have also written on this subject (Dontsa, loc. cit. 12). Horn (op. cit. 213) has remarked that theatre of manipulation 'uses media drama (radio, television, and cinema) to promote the Nationalist Party Government's views and policies among all sections of the population'. Of course, South Africa is not unique in this respect: such policies are also common in many other countries.

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7. Beamed on 19 radio stations and 4 television channels. It was sung in seven languages. The record was released in September 1986 and the commercials ran on radio stations and television channels until Christmas.

3.10.2. Network stations and record industries

Festivals, like the National Song Festival, promoted by the Government networks like SABC are counter-productive. They do not promote political performance and yet they provide chances for publicity and offer attractive prizes. Because the producers and performers are eager to get air time, they 'pre-censor themselves or risk rejection by the SABC' (Coplan, op. cit. 194).

For a long time record industries in South Africa were not promoting political music or music with revolutionary themes. This was in sympathy with the American Record Companies, like Philadelphia Record Company, which were not promoting revolutionary Reggae music. They promoted music of the Soul performers like Teddy Pendergrass (Houghton,11/1987). The Government has used performing arts as a tool of propaganda. Horn (op. cit. 218) has observed this:

> media drama in South Africa, under the formal control of the Nationalist Government, seeks to manipulate the responses of its population to public issues through intentional and fragmented representations of reality.

South African television has provided a counter to cultural boycott by playing video cassettes of the performances of the performing artists that cannot come and play in South Africa. That serves as a consolation to the South African Whites who would not go and watch those performances.

3.10.3. International manipulation

This happened to Miriam Makeba, a South African artist who is in exile, when she was invited by the Prime Minister of Bahamas, Pindling, to sing at his inauguration. The intention was to draw many people to the inauguration since Miriam is a well known artist. The ceremony was so well attended that when Miriam wanted to open a boutique in the Bahamas the following year Pindling welcomed the idea.

Miriam made all the necessary preparations to open her boutique. But when Pindling learned from the newspapers about her engagement to Kwame Ture (formerly known as Stokely Carmichael), a Trinidadian radical activist who was banned in all Commonwealth countries, he pretended as if he did not know that Miriam would open a boutique in the Bahamas. He unceremoniously advised her to leave the country.

Miriam felt she was used: 'they used my name, and they had me sing in the inauguration' (Makeba, 1988:158). That is why she had composed such songs like Ingwemabala which means a "spotted leopard". She says 'everywhere I go in the world I find trouble'. I, too, ask myself, 'why am I this spotted leopard? I am a spotted leopard among cheetahs'. (Makeba, Soundrecording, 1988). The following song is the text:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ngilamuleleni | Rescue me |
| Ngiyingwe Mabala Sengenzeni | Why am I a spotted leopard? |
| Ngilamuleleni | Rescue me |
| Ngiyingwe Mabala | I am a spotted leopard |

There is a pun in the word 'cheetah' in that a cheetah is an animal but in spoken language one cannot tell whether Makeba means a cheater when she sings, as she felt cheated in the Bahamas, unless one had come across the lyrics. Secondly, the text is also not political but the context in which the music is used is political, another technique of performance centred approach.

# CHAPTER 4

# FEAR: A DISTINCT ELEMENT REFLECTED IN CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL PERFORMING ARTS

## 4.0. INTRODUCTION

Intimidation with security visits and occasional banning orders and house arrests, as a result of public protests against the Government, played a great role in making the black community live in absolute fear of the police (Biko, op. cit. 75). Performance and recording of socio-political songs also resulted in media censorship, banning, torture and imprisonment (Erlmann, quoted in Manuel, op. cit. 110). The government clampdowns, as a result of public protest, made people turn to other methods of objecting to oppression. Even in the nineteenth century, methods such as poetry writing were adopted, and published in newspapers like The Kaffir Express with its first poem in 1871 (Opland, op. cit. 180). Other methods were to write poetry books, like Rubusana 's Zemk' inkomo Magwalandini (You are losing your heritage you cowards), which carried poems with political connotations.

The Government imposed restraints on publishers who in turn have no choice but to impose constraints on black writers' books in order to

avoid offending the state, and incurring economic losses should books be banned (Emmet, quoted in Opland, op. cit. 185). In order to avoid censorship artists had to use other techniques, like camouflage, by choosing wording that was full of ambiguity, and this was a reflection of fear among the African people. Biko (op. cit. 78) has made the following comment on this point:

> Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars who smile at the enemy and swear at him in the toilets; who shout "Baas" willingly during the day and call the white man a dog in the buses as they go home. Once again the concept of fear is at the heart of this two-faced behaviour on the part of the conquered blacks.

Kofsky has also observed that protest in jazz has been advanced in a 'highly convoluted, symbolic, even Aesopian form', and 'black men have been speaking to white in riddles since slavery, when Bye, Bye Blackbird signaled the impending departure of a slave via Underground Railroad' (Kofsky, op. cit. 62-3). The reason for this was that in those days it was not easy to come out and say, 'Hey! the situation stinks'. As a result a black musician 'learned to resort to subterfuges' (ibid. 58). This chapter will consider camouflage techniques used to circumvent book bannings, Government harassments, torture and imprisonment.

## 4.1. BEHAVIOUR AND REACTIONS: SIGNALS OF FEAR

### 4.1.1. Symbolism

Symbolism is the most common unconventional method adopted by the artists, especially the poets, to avoid Government's book bannings, harassments. Symbolism (among other meanings) denotes 'all expressions of double meaning wherein a primary (i.e. literal) meaning, refers beyond itself to a second (i.e. figurative) meaning which is never given directly' (Paul Ricouer, quoted from Ndaba, 1985:5).

It was very easy to use symbolism successfully because most publishers and the agents of the Government know little about African languages. Examples can be found which date back to the 19th century: symbolism is obvious in a poem addressed with a letter to the Isigidimi editor from Thomas Mqanda on 1st October 1884. In the letter a finger was pointed at the Christian ministers' policy, which does not accommodate the welfare of the wives of the black ministers after the death of their husbands (Opland, op. cit. 80).

| Editor Isigidimi | |
|---|---|
| Mandithi kuwe - | May I say to you |
| Sayama ngentamb' omlungukazi, | You who lean against the white woman's mountain |
| Le kuthiwa yi Kapa; | The one called Cape Town, |
| Hamba nyoka emnyama | Go, black snake, |
| Ecanda isiziba | Which cleaves pools, |
| Uye kulomzi apho sibulawa kona. | Return to that homestead where we're being killed. |
| Jong' indlela zamagwangqa, | Look at the white man's ways |
| Jongwa yimfakadolo; | And you're looked at by a breechloader, |
| Lukhozi lumapiko angqongqosholo. | You hawk with powerful wings. |

(quoted in Opland, ibid. 80-81)

Another example of symbolism as a camouflage technique is a poem (by Mqhayi, 1979:99) called Mbambushe. Mbambushe was King Ngqika's favourite dog, who was a Xhosa King during the 19th century, and had enjoyed special favours which were not enjoyed by his councillors. It used to take shares given to men as payment for slaughtering a beast in the kraal, without opposition. Nobody would do anything to the dog because it was the king's favourite, and the right of the dog to act in this way was accepted and defended by the king's councillors.

One day again a beast was slaughtered and Mbambushe was also present. This time Mbambushe did not take one of the shares but an important part of meat, the chest. That day the king was the first to chase the dog. When the dog saw the king coming he left the meat and went

straight for the king, because there is no difference between the king and other people as far as Mbambushe is concerned. Within a second the king was lying in the dust crying for help. That was Mbambushe's last day.

Mbambushe stands for Europeans in South Africa who were respected and welcomed as people, but their response to the Africans was inhuman. Europeans did not only take the land, but had changed Africans into Black Britishers. Africans' culture had been gradually eradicated. Mbambushe is a symbol of imperialism and opportunism, exploitation and conspiracy against the African people of South Africa.

Qangule (1979:191) has commented on this poem, Mbambushe: the poem is a 'satire on the Union of South Africa Act of 1910 which deprived the black people of their political rights in the land of their birth'. Makalima R.G. (1975, quoted in Qangule, ibid. 192) believed that Mqhayi was aiming a broadside at the British Government for giving in to the demands of the Boers for the exclusion of the black from the major citizenship rights of their country. Makalima also believed that Mqhayi predicted at the end that one day the British Government would have occasion to regret her actions. The following is the poem Mbambushe.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Lala njalo ke Mbambushe, | [Rest so Mbambushe (you deserve to die) |
| | Ndun' enkul' akulo Ntlushe | Son of Ntlushe (clan name of the king) |
| | Amabhong' uwafezile, | You have accomplished (your) ambitions |
| | Bonk' ubuntu ubugqibile | You have tasted all human benefits |
| 5. | Ubuyinja ngokudalwa, | You were a dog by nature |
| | Ngukuvela nokuzalwa; | By right and by birth |
| | Ubungumntu ngokondliwa, | You have received human treatment |
| | Ngokongama nokoyikwa | With honour and reverence, |
| | Ubunalo ithamsanga--- | You were also fortunate--- |
| | Neziny' izinja zakhamnqa-- | To the surprise of other dogs-- |
| | Lokunyuswa ngokaMlawu, | And being honoured by the king |
| | Akwenze ube sisigcawu. | Who treated you with royalty. |
| 13. | Akonanga wonakele! | You are not wrong but spoilt |
| | Loo nyanis' ibonakele | Now the truth has come out |
| | Kone iziphathamandla, | The fault lies with the authorities |
| | Zakutyefa, zakuphandla. | Who 'indulged' and deceived you. |
| 17. | Akonanga, nto kaMlawu, | You are not wrong so-and-so of Mlawu |
| | Ngokuwenza loo mzekelo. | With this example (of killing the dog) |
| | Eli qhina linengozi, | This hill (trickery) is dangerous |
| | Ziwa kulo zonk' iinkosi | Many kings fail to climb (notice) it |
| 21. | Iimbali zibalisiwe, | We have heard stories |
| | Iincwadi sifundisiwe | We have read books |
| | Le nyaniso iyatyandwa | This truth is always maintained |
| | Inkos' ifa ngezithandwa | The king is betrayed by bosom friends |
| 25. | Izithandwa zabumini, | Sudden friends |
| | Ezinobunginingini; | With knavery |
| | Ezithetha kom' amathe | Who speak non-stop (in praise of him) |
| | 'Ze ngokuhlwa ziyizonde. | Behind his back they conspire against him. |
| 29. | Namhlanje siseBritani | Today we are in Britain (are Britishers) |
| | Kumz' omkhulu wokumkani | The Great homestead of the king; |
| | Kant' uMbambush' usahleli | Mbambushe is still alive |
| | Usalawula emandleni. | It rules powerfully. |

| | |
|---|---|
| 33. Mhlamnye woze anyalase, | One day he will move (with all contempt) |
| Isifuba ahlasele. | And attack (claim) another chest |
| Loo mini ke yoz' inkosi | That day the king will |
| Yenzakale yiloo ngozi. | Be hurt by that incident |
| 37. Hinina, mafanankosi! | Why bodyguards (diehards) |
| Hinina, mafanankosi! | Why bodyguards (diehards) |
| Nobuye umva ngaliphi na, | Why are you retreating? |
| Yanenjenje nj' inja, | And let the dog do this to you?] |
| Yini na? | |

Mbutuma (1977:41) has used symbolism in his poem, Aphin amadoda', when he was criticising the acceptance of the Bantustan system by the 'homeland' leaders, as he said it was meant to divide the African people. He refers to the Bantustan as a snake, in his poem:

| | |
|---|---|
| Nants' isiz' ivuy' emzini! | [Here it comes (snake) smiling to the homestead (implying Bantustan) |
| Iqondil' aninanto | He knows you do not have anything |
| Nants' isiz' ibhuku-bhukuleka! | Here it is thrown to you |
| Zidenge, vuyisanani nayo! | Fools! accept it with open arms |
| Nants' ingen' isahlula-hlula! | Here it is dividing us |
| Aya phi n' amadoda kulo mzi? | Are there any men (militants) in this homestead?] |

Setshedi Mokoena (1973:112) has also used the snake as a symbol in his poem that is criticising the Europeans' policy of culture alienation, and apartheid laws. In his poem, 'Tame a Mamba', Mamba represents an African:

Tame a Mamba
Set it to work and starve it
Teach it your language
And when it speaks, lock it in
Tame a Mamba
Teach it your culture
And mock it
Restrict its movements

Find it outside at night and arrest it
And when it hibernates
Search for it and send it to jail
Tame a Mamba
But when it resists
And begins to hiss
Send it to the gallows

## 4.2. USE OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE AND AMBIGUITY AS AN INDICATION OF FEAR

### 4.2.1. Religious Camouflages

Camouflage techniques were used because progressive organisations were banned, even at churches there were spies. People adopted unconventional methods, like singing church songs or use of metaphor in the language to express their feelings. This was done during political meetings to fool the system or anybody who is suspected, passing by the venue where a political discussion is conducted (Mantshonsho, 1988). Horn (op. cit. 222) has commented on this point: some plays are 'Aesophian or allegorical'.

The freedom song, Senzeni na? (What have we done?), is a typical example of religious camouflage, as the song's tune comes from the Presbyterian hymn, Ndimthanda uMkhuli wam (I love my saviour) written by Rev. John Bennie (Bennie, 1914:67). People would sing such hymns when the police were approaching, and when the police left the singers would return to the freedom songs. The following is an example of the song:

Example 1

| | |
|---|---|
| Ntimthanda uMkhululi wam | I love my saviour |
| Ngokuba engu-Mhlobo wam | Because he is my friend |
| Wandenzela uxolo lwam | He has made peace for me |
| Phakathi kwam no Tixo wam | Between me and my God |

The following is the freedom song, adapted from the above hymn, sung in the absence of the police:

| | |
|---|---|
| Senzeni, senzeni na? | What have we done? (4x) |
| AmaBhulu azizinja | Boers are dogs |
| Ayakufa ezizinja | They will die as dogs (2x) |

The religious song, Malibongwe (Let it be praised), whose tune was used during the Bloemfontein pass-burning by women and during the PUTCO bus strike also reflects fear. The following are the original and adapted texts (quoted in Rycroft, 1965:54):

Original (from religious hymn)

| | |
|---|---|
| Malibongwe, malibongwe! (2x) | Let it be praised |
| Igama lika Yesu Krestu | The name of Jesus Christ |
| Malibongwe! | Let it be praised |

Adapted freedom song (for the women)

Lia chesoa (They are burning) (from Sotho language)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lia chesoa, lia chesoa! (2x) | They are burning! |
| Koana Vrystata | Here in Free State |
| Lipasa lia chesoa | They are burning! |

Adapted freedom song (during PUTCO bus strike)

Awakwelwa (They are not ridden) (from Zulu language)

| | |
|---|---|
| Awakwelwa, awakwelwa! (2x) | They are not ridden |
| Amabha'si ka- 'PUTCO' | The buses of PUTCO |
| Awakwelwa | They are not ridden |

Some hymns do not change, the wording remains the same but fits the description of the police brutality. Because many South African police do not understand African languages, a political song is sung

in their presence and they would not react as the wording is sometimes ambiguous. Trevor Ap Simon (1987:18) has this to say about Zimbabwen Mbira music:

> The use of allusion and metaphor and the exploitation of outsiders' lack of the contextual knowledge required for successful interpretation were among the linguistic camouflages.

The following freedom song was adapted from a hymn with its wording unchanged. It is typical of a song that has ambiguous wording, as it expresses objection to police harassment in this context. The objection has been expressed metaphorically. The wording of the song is not political, but it is the context in which it is performed that is political:

| | |
|---|---|
| U-Satan' upheth' izembe | [Satan is carrying an axe |
| Ugawul' abakholwayo | He is chasing the believers |
| Angeke silulahl' ukholo thina | We will never abandon faith] |

In a political context the song means that people are determined to continue with the struggle for liberation despite police brutality. This is another example of performance-centred approach. I have written on this point in 1.1.1.

4.2.2. Other camouflage techniques

After the 1960 Sharpeville-Langa massacres, about 1961-1963 in Cape Town PAC members organised concerts in the Hostels (houses for men only in the urban areas) which were meant to raise funds for the arrested PAC members. People would be found dancing among themselves without women. When the police came in to ask what the occasion was for and why were men dancing without women, they would be told that dancing is for fun; the entrance fee is to stop too many people from coming in; and they left women in the countryside, as the Government does not allow them to bring them in the townships. The police would go, after realising that these were good reasons (Mantshontsho, 1988).

Concerts continued until the police became suspicious again. When they came again they would be bluffed. People would use concert mannerisms. There would be confusion: shouts of 'Mas'khanda!' (Disk Jockey!), or 'abangenamali mabaphume!' (those without money must get out!). The police would find themselves having to contribute money at the concerts.

During the Black Consciousness era many people were afraid to attend political gatherings, and cultural activities' organizers were also afraid to invite artists who involve politics in their performances.

This made many artists come up with plans, like use of musical bands as camouflages. Musical bands were the only hope for attracting a huge crowd, apart from funeral gatherings and sport. The artists would start with the music, and then in the middle they would change and read political poems over the music (Tladi, '87).

### 4.2.3. 'Talking-with-the-people' approach: non-committal criticism

Talking with the people is a form of non-committal criticism, where the artist must be part of the audience, talk as the audience does, and not impose his/her values on it. This approach differs from the 'talking to the people' approach, in that the latter is a form of criticism which involves value imposition, like preachers and politicians (Tladi, '87). Talking with the people refers to the authorities only indirectly. It involves 'sharing' of ideas between the artist and an audience, for example, an artist on stage addresses an audience instead of holding a dialogue with another artist.

In The Hungry Earth by Maishe Maponya, one of the performers addresses the audience about the police brutality inflicted on the people who were arrested on the train for smoking 'dagga' (South African name for marijuana):

> Most of us were requested to produce passes and permits. Those who failed to produce them spent two weeks in jail and were deported to their respective homes on their release. This is the inhuman and unjust procedure to endorse the unjust laws that make another a stranger in the land of his birth and rob him of his freedom to move where he wants. Is freedom not the law of nature? Then what?
>
> (quoted in Steadman, 1981:9)

Maponya does not condemn the Government directly, but describes the situation and puts it to the audience to make the judgement. The description of the situation without labelling accusations against anyone is another indication of fear. This form of non-committal approach has loopholes and is common in South African contemporary political dramas. It describes brutality by the police, which the Government too sometimes accuses of acting foolishly, although they (police) operate with its blessings. Perhaps Maponya adopted this approach because he was afraid of police persecution.

It can also be argued that Mtsaka's pen in his play, Bongi Struggle, (produced by Shikisha Arts in London in March 1987), reflects an element of fear on his part, in his sarcastic approach when criticising the mine's management and the Department of Public Relations. At some point in the play one performer addresses the audience while other performers are humming in the background, and says:

> The 'immigrants' regard their dances a rightful link to their 'homelands', but for mines' management it's a huge bonus. The Public Relations Department thrives on the rhythm of African dances performed in competitions against other rival miners, bringing back glory to their masters on Sundays. But what a price to pay for having your manhood restored to you once a week.

The whole play, You Can't Stop the Revolution, is acted in a non-committal story-telling manner by addressing the audience. The play depicts police brutality under the instruction of the Government, and with the pretext of keeping peace. I remember one day talking to Dr E. Gunner about the play. Her reaction was that the play does not follow the traditional style of urban plays, and she was not greatly impressed. Some people believe that the play is revolutionary [1], however, and more so, that it follows the traditional style followed in intsomi performance: artist-to-audience approach. I have written on this point in 3.1.3. Moreover there is almost no mention of the Government except indirectly, by describing the actions of the police.

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1. Interview with South African youths, who preferred that their names should not be revealed, studying in London in 1988.

4.2.4. White fear

Contemporary political performing arts do not reflect fear among the Africans only, fear is also reflected among South African Whites. Erlmann (op. cit. 134) has observed how the musical aspirations of the educated Africans has created more fear in the white colonists than the economic competition itself. He quotes a Cradock critic's remark, in a colonist paper The Midland News and Karoo Farmer, April 5 1982, after watching a touring Zulu choir performing:

> Such shows, and their effect upon the other coloured people of this Colony - together with the erroneous ideas that will be fostered by the appearance of the Choir in England - - will only tend to intensify and make more difficult the race question in Africa...
>
> (quoted from Erlmann, ibid. 135)

Again, to Horn, the PAC slogan, 'Africa for the Africans' has one meaning only. It means racism and that Whites should be expelled from the region (Horn, op. cit. 221). There is no other interpretation of the slogan, like '...the overwhelming majority, shall have the right to say how they shall be governed' (Roux, op. cit. 112). It is without doubt correct to say that Horn is creating fears in the white community with his explanation. Gerhart (1979:193) has made a similar commentry to the one made by Horn about the Press:

> Press coverage given to bellicose statements by Leballo and Madzyunya had led to an association in many people's minds between the Africanists and the extremist slogan "Drive the White man into the sea."

In the September 1989 whites-only re-election, the Democratic Party had a campaign slogan, 'Vote your hopes and not your fears', another example that reflects fear among the white community. Steve Biko (1987:79) has commented on this point:

> The tripartite system of fear - that of whites fearing blacks, blacks fearing whites and the government fearing blacks and wishing to allay the fear amongst whites - makes it difficult to establish rapport amongst the two segments of the community.

### 4.2.5. Story behind the dance

Zwelakhe Mtsaka's play, Bongi's Struggle, also portrays the situation of mineworkers in South Africa. They were afraid to speak out and decided to act the story behind the dance. The dance is chosen for the performance, because many Whites like it, especially White supervisors at the mines. Fanakalo (Pidgin language) is used to make sure that the bosses get the message. The mineworkers object to the working conditions and taxes that have been levied on African people. The

following is an extract from the play (thanks to Mtsaka and Shikisha arts for the performance):

1. First Dancer: Lo(-)ng(i), lo(-)ng(i) many miles away my wife, my child. Si(e)t home ve(-)ry hung(i)ry
   Second Dancer: Oh! ba(-)by baby crying because lo (the) money yena (it is) ve(-)ry very little
5. First Dancer: I come by mines to work because ndaba ndaba (problem) no work at home
   Second Dancer: Oh! mina saba (I am afraid) 's too much work underground lo big stone yena kill my kop (head)
   First Dancer: If I die my wife gets nothing, nik(i)s
10. Both Dancers: Ndaba we must job underground
    Ndaba to pay tax for my cattle, futhi (again)
    to pay for my one hut.

# CHAPTER 5

# FRUSTRATION - THE ROOT OF THE AVANT-GARDE PERFORMING ARTS

## 5.0. INTRODUCTION

Having examined in chapter four how political performing arts have reflected fear, of police harassment and the harshness of Government legislation, in chapter five I will examine why and how people overcame that fear, and were determined to express their feelings overtly through the performing arts of liberation.

## 5.1. ANC NATIONAL (ANC BEFORE 1955) PERFORMING ARTS

### 5.1.1. Protest songs as an indication of defiance

By 1951 it was obvious that the Government's intention was to exclude Africans from the South African political arena, and therefore destroy the African struggle for national liberation. This is reflected in the laws they passed between 1950 and 1951: the Group Areas Act and the Suppression of Communism Act (both of 1950); the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, stock limitation regulations, and the Separate Representation

of Voters Act of 1951 (quoted in Roux, op. cit. 387). These are some of the laws that led to the 1952 Defiance Campaign [1] organised by ANC and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC).

The Campaign sometimes involved singing (ibid. 392). Singing was in the form of a protest, and most of the songs reflected determination to struggle for national liberation irrespective of the oppression experienced at the hands of the Government. This is reflected in songs like Unzima lo mthwalo (This load is heavy), Thina sizwe esimnyama (We the black nation) (Appendices 10.1.1.1. and 10.1.1.2. are the examples).

Some songs were meant to rally people, as they were sung openly in the streets. They were also meant to raise the consciousness of the people and to get them to join the Defiance Campaign. Singers, like Gwentshe in East London, used megaphones to amplify their voices in order to be heard at a distance (interview with Zolile Keke in London, 1989). Songs

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1. Defiance of unjust laws, like curfew regulations and entering locations without permits, addressing at the banned public meetings, breaking common customs like lining up in the White queues, ignoring public facilities marked'for Whites only', etc. (Ibid. 387-8).

like Somlandela uLuthuli (We will follow Luthuli); Joyinani (Join), are the examples, appendices 10.1.2.2. (b) and 10.1.2.3. (b) respectively.

Other songs went further and suggested that people are prepared to fight for the land if that is what it takes to gain freedom. There is a claim of full possession, with pride, of the land implied in these songs. Some songs involve threats and warnings to the Government. Songs like South Africa ikhaya lam (South Africa my home), Nants' indod' imnyama (Here comes a black man) respectively are examples, appendices 10.1.2.1. and 10.1.1.3. respectively.

## 5.2. PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS (PAC) AND PERFORMING ARTS

### 5.2.1. Themes of determination

Towards the end of the 1950s, a newly-formed organisation by the name of PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress) was determined to continue with the struggle for national liberation. PAC emerged with its own freedom songs at its inception (Pheko, 1984:87). If there is anything loathed by PAC it was the pass book, and its first action in its positive campaign was to work towards its abolition. The freedom song, Sera

sa motho ke pasa (The enemy of a person is the pass), is the example (appendix 10.2.4.2. (b) ). (tape no. 19)

The Government's Draconian actions, and repressive laws like the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1953 passed in response to the campaign (quoted in Motlhabi, 1985:29-30), did not stop the determination to struggle for national liberation by the African people. Some songs keep referring to the unpleasant experiences of the Defiance Campaign, and were also intended to inspire and strengthen the campaigners. Freedom songs, like Thina silulutsha lwase Azania (We the youth of Azania), are typical examples (appendix 10.2.7.8.). But some people felt the strategy should be slightly changed: that people must be taught that the campaign must be absolutely non-violent, as the Government's response would be extremely ruthless towards violent actions (Sobukwe, op. cit. 34-5). [2]

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2. This statement was made in response of incidents, like a fierce racial riot broke out in Port Elizabeth. Whites were attacked and killed and buildings were set on fire. In response the police shot dead a number of Africans (Roux, op. cit. 391).

## 5.3. THE TURNING POINT: THE END OF NON-VIOLENT METHODS

### 5.3.1. Survey of the determinants for the change of strategy

As indicated in 5.2.1. above, the pass book was loathed by the Africans. In 1960 there was a non-violent positive action campaign towards pass abolition. It was called the Anti-pass Campaign, and was organised for the 21st of March 1960, by PAC. Members surrendered themselves for arrest in the police stations on pass-law violation (Motlhabi, op. cit. 93). The police response to this peaceful non-violent demonstration was violent, hence the Sharpeville and Langa massacres (ibid. 94-95). The freedom song, Ngalo nyaka ka - 1960 (in the year 1960), is about the shooting of the masses engaged in a peaceful demonstration and protest (appendix 10.2.5.1.). (tape no. 20)

Shooting by the police in 1960 of the masses demonstrating against the passes marked the end of non-violent action in some organisations. The massacre never stopped people from struggling for national liberation; instead people were more determined and more united than before. There

was civil disobedience and strikes, and the economy was destabilised (Pheko, loc. cit. 94-95). PAC and ANC organisations were both banned.[3]

Since then members of these two organisations operated underground, and they used guerrilla warfare techniques. They realised that South Africa holds military power, and they believed that the situation could only be changed by challenging that power (Strauss, H., quoted in Motlhabi, loc. cit. 99). Poqo, an offshoot of PAC, was formed. This was the first military group, equipped with pangas, that killed Whites, black policemen, blacks who refused to join Poqo, and collaborators (ibid. 99-100). The freedom song, Bonke laba bantu, appendix 10.2.7.1., is the example of a change of strategy in PAC. (tape no. 21)

Perhaps these killings were also motivated by frustration: 'blocking of some ongoing, goal-directed activity' (Dollard et al, quoted in the International Encyclopedia of the Social Science:169). 'Preventing the occurrence of some goal response at its proper time in an ongoing response sequence - arouses, among other things, an emotional state, anger, that creates a readiness for aggressive acts' (Berkowitz, 1962, quoted from the International Encyclopedia:171). Frustration 'produces

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3. ANC was not involved in the demonstration, they refused the invitation from PAC (see Karis and Gerhart Vol. 3, op. cit. 571).

instigations to a number of different types of response, one of which is an instigation to some form of aggression' (Miller, 1969:30).

### 5.3.2. Independence by 'any means necessary'

Sharpeville and Langa massacres did not only bring overt condemnation of Government brutality, but also marked the beginning of the radical option. Songs that were performed were powerful, featuring aggressive and inflammatory wording. They reflected that some people were prepared to gain independence through the barrel of a gun, as dialogue and non-violent means had failed. The freedom songs, Mabhulu athath' umhlaba (Boers have taken the land), Eshe ntsizwa (Oh man), are the examples (appendices 10.2.2.1. (b) and 10.2.3.4. respectively). (tape no. 22)

Subsequent songs often referred to the Sharpeville shootings, perhaps as a constant reminder and to incite the new generation. Songs with themes of threats, determination and assurances to fight for freedom were common. Other songs reflected strong feeling against the division of the African groups and the creation of the 'Bantustans'. Songs, like Uyigerila na? (Are you a guerrilla?); Ityala lisemaBhulwini

(Boers are guilty), Sobukwe tsamaya (Sobukwe go/move); He! lona masole (We soldiers); Namhla sibuyayo (The day we come back); are the examples. Appendices 10.2.2.3., 10.2.3.2., 10.2.6.1., 10.2.7.3., 10.2.7.9., respectively is the repertoire. (tape nos. 23 - 27)

### 5.3.3. Poverty - a motive for liberation

Some songs express a great concern for poverty among the African people. There is dedication to end poverty militarily, as it contributes to the 'accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation' (Maclellan, 1973:349), as a result of the accumulation of wealth among the Whites in South Africa and suppression of the African advancement. The freedom songs, Thina isizw' esintsundu (We the black nation) and Siyahlupheka Pokela (We are poor Pokela) are the examples. Appendices 10.2.7.6. and 10.2.7.7. respectively. (tape no. 28)

### 5.3.4. Patriotic slogans

Slogans are a succinct synthesis of pithy phrases used as a 'hype' or an aid to a propaganda campaign. They are common in political performing

arts. They are the 'psychological subversion of you as a person to redirect your ideas and your thoughts' (Ntuli Pitika, London, 1988). People remember them more easily than speeches, and they are used for effect and to raise the consciousness of the people.

PAC and other organisations have combined a number of slogans, and these are performed in a recitative manner. There is a patriotic rhapsody that is expressed in political slogans. This is reflected in the manner in which Pan Africanist leaders like Nkrumah and Sobukwe are elevated, and the organisations that promote African nationalism. Appendices 12.2.1.1. (a) and 12.2.1.1. (c) are the examples.

It may be argued that the performance of the slogans reflects frustration in that the exaltation of the Pan Africanist leaders is executed at the same time as the condemnation of the South African Government and all its 'tentacles': Down with apartheid!, Down with White supremacy!, Down with Inkatha! (Zulu organization), Down with Tricameral parliamentary system! (see appendix 12.2.1.1. (b) and 12.2.1.1. (c) ).

## 5.4. ANC CONGRESS ALLIANCE (ANC AFTER 1955) AND UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (UDF) PERFORMING ARTS

### 5.4.1. The 'struggle continues'

After the Sharpeville and Langa massacres, both organisations, ANC and PAC, came up with their liberation songs which spelled out their intentions, and were determined to implement the task of liberating the South African people. Songs like Hamba kahle Mkhonto (Go well spear); E Rile (Freedom fighters) meant to encourage ANC military wing, came into being. (Appendices 10.1.3.1., 10.1.6.1. respectively). (tape nos. 29 and 30)

Many songs that were composed were about a new leadership, (Mandela, Tambo, etc.), that was prepared to lead the struggle militarily. Like PAC, they loathed slavery and were determined to do away with it. For instance, the song Mandela (appendix 10.1.4.1. (b))is an example. The songs were characterised by themes of threats and terror. (tape no. 31) For example, the song 'Oliver Tambo' is an example. (appendices 10.1.6.5.) (tape no. 32)

5.4.2. Use of slogans advocating drastic measures

UDF is an alliance of political, local, student, and trade union organisations formed in 1983 (Race Relations, 1, 1986:176). As time went by it also made an alliance with ANC, and eventually it adopted the ANC's Freedom Charter. It was during UDF era (1980s) that slogans were popularised in South Africa, and were used by almost everybody. They were performed to mobilise, recruit, exhort, highlight the issues, condemn, express good wishes and to terrorise.

The most popular type of slogan that was performed was toyi-toyi.* One student said when it was performed he felt as if he was in the military, because of the power it has. I have written about the power of performing arts in 1.1.1. Toyi-toyi was drawn from traditional slogans, and the Government banned its performance in political activities because of the sensation it creates. Appendices 12.3.1.(a) and (b) are examples of toyi-toyi. (tape nos. 33 and 34) Again frustration is obvious and evident in the performance of ANC-UDF slogans: Unban African National Congress, unban!, Move out of our townships, move out!; Away with South African Defence Force, away!. (Appendix 12.3.2.1.) Here the execution of slogans is meant to 'let off steam' and to diminish frustration (Freeman, op. cit. 219).

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*Refer to page 150

Freeman goes further and says: 'when there exists a long-term frustration or conflict in personal needs or cultural demands which is tied in with the mores of society, stabilizing verses will be sung. These will describe the conflict...' (ibid.)

### 5.4.3. Toyi-Toyi

Toyi-toyi is the recitation of political slogans in a prosodic manner, or the 'liberation dance of South African black nationalists' (The Times, 5th March '90). It was popularised in the 1980s during UDF era. Its origin could be also traced back to the traditional performances known as izigwiyo zamakhwenkwe zokutheza (boys circumcision slogans). [4] These were not used politically but for topical purposes, and were never known as toyi-toyi. The name Toyi-toyi is new, many people learned of it in the 1980s.

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4. These slogans are performed by the boys when they are gathering logs in the forests in preparation of umgubho/mguyo. Slogan performance at this point is meant to bring the music to the original tonality, as it has moved up after a long performance.

5.4.3.1. As a non-political performance

Some people saw such performances, in the 1960s, by prisoners in East London. According to Mantshontsho, prisoners would assume a certain pattern of walking when they were carrying a big paraffin drum full of water drawn from the furrows to irrigate vegetables. The drum was cut in the middle and a wire handle would be fixed on both sides of one half. The drum would be filled with water and a wooden stick would be put across the handle. Two prisoners would put this dangling and heavy drum on their shoulders. They would follow each other and make a dangling movement. The stick would chafe them as they were moving.

To counter this they adopted a style of handling the drum, which gave them some form of relief as they walked. They would say words like, Hay(i)!, hay(i)!'. The performance was designed as a form of expression of resilience or manifestation. It was accompanied by curses like, abelungu ngoo dem! (Whites be damned!) to draw strength. One could not fail to feel for the prisoners when they were performing this toyi-toyi. Even when the prisoners were delivering food to the political prisoners locked up in their cells, one could hear the same rhythm. It was a usual pattern to run around carrying heavy stuff.

Sometimes the dance would be used as an initiation performance. Opportunities for retaliation arose when any former official or policeman was arrested. He would be taken to the 'water span' - to draw water from the furrows into the fields for irrigation. As the former officer was carrying water, he would be observed by the whole span. He would be given an expert for a partner in the dancing of this performance. He would be matched with somebody either shorter or taller than himself, moving in front of him, in order to create imbalance (Mantshontsho, 5/88).

5.4.3.2. As a political performance

Toyi-toyi was performed in 1956 during the Anti-pass Campaign by women. They performed it when they were burning their passes. [5] In the 1980s it was developed and was provided in the form of tapes by the freedom

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5. I saw a video of the women performing toyi-toyi while burning passes. Granada documentary on apartheid was organised by Dr Shula Marks, for her class, at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London 1987.

fighters. It was full of improvisation believed to have been copied from the liberation movements in other African states before their independence. It is mostly performed at political gatherings and funerals of political activists.

It follows a 'call and response' pattern, with slogans, praises and statements from the 'caller' and Hay(i)! - hay(i)!, Hay(i)! response from the chorus, which anticipates the beat, serves as a pattern. When it is performed, certain calls are made and the performers change the steps. For example, the 'caller' will call out '90 degrees', and performers will change their steps, with knees up at a 90 degrees angle. If the call is 30 degrees the performers change to ordinary trotting rhythm. (See appendix 12.3.2.1.(b) for the calls.) I have written on toyi-toyi (Dontsa, op. cit. 11-12).

It is a national political performance which is meant to involve, mobilise and unify people (Manyoko and Phindangene, 9/88). One informant said during its performance 'I can feel my hair moving, and it moves me to tears and I feel like taking an AK-47'. Because it was so popular and effective during the consumer boycott period in South Africa, the Government banned its performance at funerals. Toyi-toyi is used as a form of education, as it relates information that is usually suppressed. When it is performed, words from different languages

are included, because some words are too long to fit in particular places. I have written on this point in 3.3.8. There is also a special way of pronouncing words.

5.4.3.3. Toyi-toyi performance technique

Toyi-toyi recitation needs a special technique, and like a poem, not everybody performs it. The recitation is spontaneous but based on preconceived ideas. The 'caller' has the liberty to 'improvise' as long as the flow and rhythm are not disturbed. For example, in appendix 12.3.1. (a) starting from line 7, andiniva (I can't hear you) to line 11, gujuba (run) is an 'improvisation' which is meant to encourage ministers and old mothers to be involved in the performance. Also see another example of toyi-toyi in appendix 12.3.1. (b) to see the difference.

To think of the wording with the correct rhythm and say it at the same time is not an easy technique. The device I think the performer has used in the above performance was to repeat the last slogan of every verse before he proceeded to the following verse. Sometimes all the lines of a verse are repeated. This gives him some time to think of what next to say, as the performance is spontaneous.

There are cries for help and assurances about freedom fighters, that they are ready to help from the bushes. People who have suffered in the struggle are mentioned and praised. Also mentioned are the names of the people who have been killed in the struggle. For example, Solomon Mahlangu bambulele (They have killed Solomon Mahlangu) in line 39. This is meant to bring a constant reminder to the people.

Slogans for calming and uniting the people are often heard in the performance. For example, Thura! (Don't worry) and Bopha! (Unite) respectively in lines 89-95. Things that are hated most are mentioned with contempt. For example, 'There are the hippos (South African armoured cars) running away', and words like voetsek. When they see the courts of law they feel like throwing a hand grenade, because they would be sent to jail wherever they appeared in the South African courts of law. The performance ends with a salute to Mkhonto weSizwe (ANC military wing) as a symbol of hope.

5.4.3.4. Psychological warfare techniques

After toyi-toyi performances there would often be some random clashes between the police and the oppressed people. These would be accompanied by cries like Kubo! kubo! (get them, get them). These have a psychological effect in that they consolidate, unify and prepare the crowd mentally by giving strength to those who are afraid. One

informant told me that one policeman said that there is nothing he fears more than the kubo! kubo! charging cry by the African masses. Rycroft (1965:54) has written on this subject:

> Battle songs and cries, or instruments such as trumpets and drums, seem almost always to have played an essential role in warfare. During Shaka's reign of terror in Southern Africa his impis beat on their shields instead of bothering with drums, and each regiment had its own battle cry and repertoire of regimental and war songs.

Also the traveller, James Bruce (1980:145), wrote in 1774 of:

> the terrible, loud and hoarse tone of these trumpets in Abyssinia; played on the march, or before the enemy appear in fight it had the effect upon the soldiers of transporting them absolutely to fury and madness.

5.4.3.5. Counter-productive

Toyi-toyi performance sometimes was counter-productive. It was used to incite people to kill purported collaborators, and in some cases members of a rival organisation, because it was performed during 'necklace' killings (hanging a tyre filled with petrol around the victim's shoulders and lighting it: also refer to Race Relations Survey, 2, 1986:516). This was used as a 'form of execution,

including political rivals and non-political persons attempting to disguise killings for other reasons as political deaths' (ibid. 515; and vol. 1, 142). As a result of 'necklace' killings there were many clashes among African people. The intention of these necklace killings was to intimidate and frighten the opposition.

Again, perhaps the use of the 'necklace' during toyi-toyi performance is the result of frustration. It was during the time when UDF and other ANC affiliates were obsessed with the adoption of the Freedom Charter, and could not see why other organisations did not want to adopt it. Sills has commented on this point: 'highly ethnocentric college students typically have a strong tendency to attack other people when frustrated by someone else' (quoted in International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, op. cit. 172).

Secondly, this could be another way of settling old scores between the Azanian and the Congress Alliance tendencies. [6] PAC was formed as a

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6. Azanian tendency refers to all organizations which regard South Africa as Azania. For example, PAC, BCM, AZAPO, AZANYU, the Pan-Africanist Movement (PAM), etc.

result of the adoption of the Freedom Charter (among other reasons) by the Congress Alliance, something that created animosity between the two organisations. Leballo refers to the Freedom Charter as a political bluff, full of slogans without political steps towards the formation of a government (quoted in Motlhabi, op. cit. 76). Berkowitz and Green (1962) say:

> subjects who were deliberately provoked by the experimenter subsequently exhibited greater hostility toward a person who had angered them some time earlier than toward someone else who had not provoked them.

## 5.5. DEJECTION, EXASPERATION AND VIOLATION OF TRADITIONAL RULES

### 5.5.1. Lamentation

Moaning and complaining are also a reflection of frustration in political performing arts. Oswald Mtshali was once quoted as saying: 'my poems can maybe help to make whitemen aware of a black world they do not know about, where poverty, violence and frustration abound' (London Evening Standard, quoted in Gwala, 1974:111). The following is an extract from his poem, 'The washerwoman's prayer' (The Classic 1968, quoted in Couzens; and Patel, op. cit. 203):

Through bitter winters
Through broiling summers
In frost-freckled mornings
In sun-scorched afternoons
She has drudged a murmurless minion.

Moaning involves description of the conditions of the people as they attract the tourist eye. It also explains what follows: exploitation as they have nothing of their own. The following extract from a poem, 'Naked they came', by Somhlahlo Basil (New coin 1967, quoted in Couzens; and Patel, ibid. 197) is an example:

Naked they come,
With complete abandon,
All sizes all ages,
They stand and they gaze,
What a sight!
A tourist attraction.

Their lives insured
Yes, unquestionably safe,
For soon they will join,
To work on the mines,
To work on the farms,
And soon more will come,
For naked they come.

Sometimes lamentation involves expression of helplessness, loss of hope, etc. The poem, 'To this day', (Safee Sadique, quoted in Couzens; and Patel, ibid. 212) is a typical example, and the following is an extract from the poem:

An age has passed, I came away
Bearing the hope of a new day,
But the shadows of past laments
Pursue me closely to this day.

Don Mattera (1983:5) and Sipho Sepamla (Ophir June 1974, quoted in Couzens; and Patel, op. cit. 233) have also expressed lamentation in their poems, 'The day they came for our house...' and 'The start of a removal', about forced removals. The following are the extracts from their poems:

Armed with bulldozers
they came
to do a job
nothing more
just hired killers

We gave way
there was nothing we could do
although the bitterness stung in us,
in the place we knew to be part of us
and in the earth around.

(Don Mattera)

the first five families
woke up
to the drone of bull-dozers
and the impatience of heavy-duty trucks

The removal has started!

(Sipho Sepamla)

5.5.2. Non-poetic approach

Non-poetic approach is another indication of frustration in political poems. This involves writing of poems in prose as if one is writing a novel or an essay; not observing traditional punctuation, like starting with a small letter after a fullstop. Secondly, lines of poems start anywhere, there is no uniformity as in traditional poems. The above poems by Mattera and Sepamla are typical examples. The following are the extracts from poems, which do not observe the traditional principles of writing poetry: 'Just to say...' (Gwala, M.P. Ophiri December 1972); 'Nimbling' (Sipho Sepamla, Unisa English Studies Journal June 1974); and 'Time has run out' (Mongane Serote, Staffrider December 1979):

> There'll always be those
> who'll want me to act
> after their accepted fashions;
> those who'll expect me to pull a smile
> just to please their vanities;
> those who'll wish I should agree
> with their clawed existence;
> those who'll say I'm not polite
> jes because their grabby ways
> ain't gonna be my stays,
> and their swags don't fool me.
>
> (Pascal Gwala, quoted in Couzens, and Patel, op. cit. 221)

i admire white people
who are perfect flatterers.
they leave me
with only one thing:
suspicion!

(Sipho Sepamla, quoted in Couzens; and Patel, ibid. 234-235)

too much blood has been spilled. please my
countrymen, can someone say a word of wisdom.
it is too late. blood, no matter how little of it,
when it spills, spills on the brain - on the memory
of a nation - it is as if the sea floods the earth. the
lights go out. mad hounds howl in the dark; ah,
now we've become familiar with horror. the heart
of our country, when it makes its pulse, ticking
time, wounds us. my countrymen, can someone,
who understands that it is now too late, who
knows that exploitation and oppression are brains
which, being insane, only know how to make
violence; can someone, teach us how to mount the
wound, the fight.

(Mongane Serote, quoted in Couzens; and Patel, op. cit. 378)

### 5.5.3. Inflammatory tactics

Contemporary political performing arts are full of rhetoric and inflammatory tactics, especially the Black Consciousness Movement performing arts. These reflect desperation which implies frustration on the part of the artists and African people. For example the

following comment from Black Review (Koapa, 1973:201) suggests incitement and frustration:

> Black Consciousness Movement Theatre moved away from theatre that spoke of their ills and tribulations to theatre that spoke to black people about ways and means that could be employed to bring change to their situation. From theatre of hopeless murmurs it became theatre of determination - theatre that taught self-reliance and brought about a new awareness.

Mafika Gwala (Gwala, 1974:105) has also commented on this point: black drama is seen as a liberating weapon that seeks to 'break down the psychological oppression that has shackled the Black man'. The poem, 'Give me an AK-47' (appendix 11.1.2.), is an example of an inciting performance by 'Pula Arts' (BCM cultural group based in London. Thanks to Molefe Pheto for the tape.) The poem also shows how frustrating it can be to stay without guns in a country that rules by guns.

# CHAPTER 6

# THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL PERFORMING ARTS, AND THEIR CONTEXT WORLDWIDE

## 6.0. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will survey the roles played by contemporary political performing arts in South Africa. These include topics such as drawing attention to police brutality; advocating culture preservation; resistance to foreign culture; comfort and invigoration; boosting morale; bringing the struggle into focus; serving as a vehicle for the recording of history; and as a form of education.

Secondly, I shall examine their international influence - encouraging the cultural boycott; raising world consciousness; urging the international community to put pressure on the South African Government; highlighting of issues by the support groups; and serving as a constant reminder of the situation in South Africa. Thirdly, we shall take a brief look at the political performing arts in other countries.

## 6.1. THE GENERAL ROLE OF POLITICAL PERFORMING ARTS

### 6.1.1. Drawing attention to police brutality

Some people became involved in Performing Arts as a result of brutality committed by the police on South African black pupils. Their poems are about the state of affairs in South Africa, which is chaotic and critical, as that is the only condition they knew while growing up. They believe that when they recite poetry on stage they are 'shouting louder for help as a result of murder' they are experiencing in South Africa, and through poetry and music they feel that people can hear and rescue them (Interview with Thabo Pholwana in Germany 3/1987).

Others emphasized that they did not perform in order to entertain: for example, they wanted to deliver their thoughts through poetry to South African White children who are being taught nothing but to murder Africans (interview with Sipho Maleka and Thabo Phulwana in Germany 3/1987).

6.1.2. Objection to bourgeois culture

The Congress Youth League of the 1940's, the Black Consciousness of the 1970's and the militants of the 1980's rebelled against the works of black middle-class or petty bourgeois musicians, who had trained at institutions like Lovedale (Erlmann, op. cit. 151). Mbaqanga (township music) also had a positive impact on the perception of the traditional music. I remember Dudu Pukwana making an outburst in the middle of my interview with him: 'Hey' itradition leyo, ndiyijongile!' (Hey! I am watching tradition) (Interview in London, 2/1987). This means that he felt strongly for the promotion of indigenous music.

Kofsky has made a similar observation on bebop in America: bebop was a rebellion against, and rejection of 'stultifying "whitening" tendencies of the Negro middle class that had to be overcome if the music were to retain its vitality' (Kofsky, op. cit. 103). It was 'the coup de grace, the idea that abruptly lifted jazz completely out of the middle-class Negro's life...' (Jones, 1970:199).

6.1.3. Resisting foreign culture and promoting indigenous beliefs

Performances with confrontational themes convey a feeling of resistance against white cultural domination in South Africa.Houghton(11/1987) believes that performing artists identify culture resistance as being part and parcel of the resistance against apartheid. He also believes that a performer cannot feel motivated without conveying cultural aspects of resistance through poetry, song and story-telling.

Performing arts bring home feelings and images of people who are constantly fighting against oppression; for example, Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika (God save Africa), was a very powerful song, provoking rallying cries, and serving as an anthem for the Nationalists in 1960. The song evokes a sense of defiance and direction, working towards a national liberation. Through Performing Arts the type of inspiration that is evoked can be much more powerful than by just talking (Houghton,11/1987).

Ahmed Sheikh of the African Dawn believes that, although a poem or a song does not feed a person in the physical sense, it can change one's perceptions about life. So a poem and music are as useful as a Bazooka, in a sense, because they can alter one's consciousness to make one either pro-struggle or anti-struggle. He also believes that art is one

of many tools that people have to express their collective resistance. Culture, by its essence, prevents and is against any form of violation of self, either physical self or the landscape. (interview in London 11/1987).

Chinweizu has urged that African writers should consciously produce works that foster national spirit in Africa, as such works, at some point, are held up as a flower of intellectual life. He made reference to the Old Testament Bible which has helped in shaping Judaic society and culture; the Koran that had helped in shaping Islamic civilisation; Ramayana and other books that had helped in shaping Hindu civilisation; and Kojiki and the Nihongi in Japan. (Chinweizu, 1987:213).

Sekou Toure has also remarked that any society that is striving to be outstanding does so by promoting its cultural values and raising its consciousness:

> Our resolve to be among the best of this world must show in the cultural values and virtues of Africa by enrichment and constant elevation of our consciousness... (Sekou Toure, op. cit. 441)

6.1.4. Performing Arts serve as therapy

ITumeleng Wa-Tusi said that Performing Arts console many souls that were down. He made an example of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) cadres who used to sing and console themselves when they had lost one of their members during the war (interview with him in Germany 3/1987). Mqhayi (see Bennie, op. cit. 189) has also written on this subject. This was after the wreckage of the Mendi, a ship which sank with over six hundred people including Africans who helped during the war. The following is an extract from Mqhayi's Ukutshona Kuka-Mendi (Sinking of the Mendi in 1916):

Thuthuzelekani ngoko, zinkedama;
Thuthuzelekani ngoko, bafazana.
Kuf' omnye kakade mini kwakhiw' omnye;
Kukhonza mnye kade, ze kuphil' abanye.
Ngala mazwi sithi ze kuphil' abanye.
Ngokwenje nje kwethu sithi, yakhekani
Lithabatheni eli qhalo labadala:
Kuba bathi, "Akuhlanga! lungehlanga!"

[Be soothed therefore, orphans;
Be soothed therefore, lovely women.
When one dies another is being born;
One sacrifices for the sake of others.
With these words we say, others should survive.
By doing this we say feel strong
Accept the proverb of the adults:
Because they say, 'We live to die!']

Jones has observed that in America the Afro-Americans 'went to church, literally, to be free...' as they were singing secular music that was referred to as 'the paucity of Negro secular music', 'corn songs', etc., the music that was outlawed by some church elders (Jones, loc. cit. 48).

### 6.1.5. Boosting morale

Political performing arts boost the morale of the fighting forces; strengthen the spirits of the cowards; serve to keep momentum going; make the members stay united; and also serve as a constant reminder that there is still an unfinished job to be completed (interview with Sizani and K.Matlapeng in London, 5/87). Performing Arts bring hope to the oppressed people of South Africa, encouraging them not to give up supporting freedom fighters. This is provided by playing freedom fighters taped music on African States' radio stations. As we were talking with Lefifi in Sweden he recited one of the masses' favourite poems right in the middle of the interview. It was intended to lift the spirits of the people, he said.

6.1.6. Bringing the Struggle into Focus [1]

Graphic media like photography and impressionistic art bring the struggle into focus. They reflect the response of the enemy, that is, injured and killed victims, as the enemy sometimes respond with fear. For example, in Sharpeville in 1960 people claim that the police acted through fear (Mzotane in London, 10/88). People also feel that this type of response by the enemy is to threaten and create fear among the people so that they stop the uprising.

On the other hand dedicated people become more angry and hostile and continue with the struggle, and with the belief that to defeat the enemy means keeping the momentum going. These pictures, therefore, incite the masses. Peter McKenzie (Staffrider, 1982:17-18) believes that 'whether he likes it or not the photographer is in the business of communication and it is useless to retreat into the romanticism of self-expression and technological wizardry...Because of the realistic

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1. The title of this sub-heading comes from Peter McKenzie's title of his article. See Staffrider, vol. 5, No. 3, 1982

nature of photographs and the relationships built up around the camera and its images they can promote unity, increase awareness and inform'.

6.1.7. A form of education

Political performing arts teach people what they should be aspiring to and fighting for. Mafeje (1967:195) has provided clear evidence that an important role of the imbongi (bard) in Xhosa society is to 'interpret public opinion and organise it' besides bringing it to the notice of the king whom he is praising.

They (political performing arts) also make clear some of the issues that could not be explained by the eloquence of the politicians. Even if they could be explained clearly by some politicians they could not be grasped by other people. But if the message is transmitted through performing arts it is easily grasped and understood (interview with Mbuyiseli Deliwe in London 22/12/87). I have written on this point about toyi-toyi* as a form of education in section 5.4.3.1.

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*Refer to page 150

6.1.8. Vehicle for the recording of history

By reading the words of songs one can tell what was happening at a particular time. Words can also tell how people perceived their situation, and their aspirations in terms of the future. For example, performing arts before the 1952 Defiance Campaign and 1960 Sharpeville and Langa massacres did not have an element of defiance or radicalism. Freedom songs that were composed after the Sharpeville and Langa massacres explain clearly what took place on that day. (Appendix 10.2.5.1.)

Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) has also remarked on performing arts as a means for the recording of history: 'it's like a sage in West Africa. If you want to know what happened in 1215 he'll sing it for you' (Hein Willemse, 1987:27). Another song is the South African freedom song called Nants' indod' emnyama (Here is a black man). This song has been applied to each successive South African prime minister, beginning with Verwoerd in the 1950s. For example the song would begin with: Nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha, appendix 10.1.1.3. There is a pun made on Verwoerd's name by substituting the word Velevutha, which means something like 'to approach with hostility'.

A.C, Jordan (1959:74-5) has also written on the performing arts and history. For example:

> ...we are able to see, through the eyes of the tribal bard, the encroachment of the Whiteman on the land of the Africans,... the undermining of the power of the chief by missionary and magistrate.
>
> As the Xhosa people were the first to be subjugated, it is in the 'praises' of their chiefs that the vast social changes brought by the conquest are reflected. Most of the illustrations refer to this group.
>
> The 'praises' composed in the middle of the nineteenth century and after, begin to make allusions to governors, missionaries and magistrates. In the 'Praises of Sandile' (son of Ngqika) reference is made to Smiti (Sir Harry Smith) who was governor when Sandile was arrested and sent to Rhini (Grahamstown) via Monti (East London). Reference is also made to Kondile (Rev. Henry Calderwood) and to Tshalisi (the Hon. Charles Brownlee) who became magistrates over the Ngqika section of the Xhosa after their conquest... the Ngqika tribal bard...complains that 'the land has been spoilt by Calderwood'.

The following song traces the history of some of the Venda people:

> Along Vhembe (Limpopo) river we moved,
> Downwards to Belvhethu and Gumbu,
> Casting our eyes to Zimbabwe
> Where our grandfathers dwell;
>
> And where our kindred still dwell,
> For there was no boundary before
> Between Vendaland and Zimbabwe,
> For the kingdom was the same...
>
> (quoted in Dube, [pseud.] 1983:12)

6.1.9. Advocating unity

Political performing arts advocate unity and this is obvious in the use of slogans in rallying unity among the people. For example, the workers' slogan, 'an injury to one is an injury to all', is a typical example of performing arts advocating unity (Irungu 1988). The slogan is used as COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) motto and was popularised in the 1980s during the consumer boycott in South Africa.

Again the slogans of the ANC (National), Mayibuye i-Afrika! (Come back Africa), and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), Izwe lethu i-Afrika! (Africa for the Africans), promote African Nationalism and this signifies unity among the Africans all over the world for the freedom of Africa.

6.1.10. Promoting political ideologies

As propaganda is part of advertisement in any industry or organisation and is sectarian because of competition, so are the political performing arts of South Africa. Diamond (1990) has observed pro-Tory bias in the Victorian music halls, praising leaders, like Disraeli, Salisbury, Randolph Churchill and John Chamberlain.

South African artists do not praise heroes of other political organisations, perhaps because their ideologies differ, and supporting all organisations that are fighting the Government would reflect that the artists are either hypocrites or ideologically confused. Ngara has observed that South African performing arts reflect performances of the artists who understand the policies of particular organisations; aims of the liberation struggle. Performances interpret the kind of society people want to see after liberation (Ngara, May 1988).

Toyi-toyi and other ANC and PAC slogans are typical examples of propaganda performances promoting political ideologies. (appendices 12.2.1.1. (a) - 12.3.2.1. (b) ). I have also commented on this point (Dontsa, op. cit. 11). The song 'Unite all ye Africans' is another example of performing arts that promote ideologies (appendix 10.2.11.1.).

## 6.2. INTERNATIONAL ROLE

### 6.2.1. Cultural Boycott

Boycott can be defined as a 'concerted effort to withdraw, and to induce others to withdraw, from political, economic, or social

relations with offending groups or individuals'. In the South African situation we have a 'cultural boycott', and this involves sport, academic and performing arts. These were advocated by leaders like Nkwame Nkrumah (Nkrumah, 1963:15). Movements like ANC are also on record for 'pressing a boycott of all cultural as well as academic links with South Africa' in the late 1950s (Guardian January 30th, 1988). Commonwealth presidents' campaign at Gleneagles in 1977 against sports contact with South Africa is also on record. In 1978 AZAPO implemented and launched a campaign which 'sought the severing of links with racist South Africa...' (More, Tribute Magazine, August 1988:20, and Anderson op. cit. 49).

Cultural organisations like the British Musicians' Union (BMU) work with other organisations to stop artists from performing in South Africa. This hits at White South Africans, as they are cut out from the international world. If White South Africans do not want to be affected they are allowed to join outside organisations as Johnny Clegg did, but on condition that they do not perform in South Africa. Many Whites cannot honour this condition, Johnny Clegg included.

Among other things that the cultural boycott has achieved is that it has been responsible for raising consciousness among the artists. For instance, when Kani* was asked to 'withdraw from a presentation of

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* John Kani is the co-producer of Sizwe Banzi is dead.

Waiting for Godot in 1982 at the Baltimore Theatre...and forfeit 'all the money he was going to earn...' (More, ibid. 22), he respected the request because he was honouring the cultural boycott.

### 6.2.2. International artists and the world consciousness

Cultural boycott has been used to make people worldwide aware of the situation in South Africa as it involved international artists who are also campaigning for cultural boycott against South Africa when they perform. Their audiences listened to performances about South Africa. Over fifty international artists performed a song called Sun City: encouraging other artists and making people aware that the Government is attracting international artists with an irresistible lump sum of money to play in Sun City (a South African 'Las Vegas' in the Boputhatswana homeland). The song is written and produced by Little Steven and Arthur Baker.

In the song they declare that they cannot compromise their principles and are urging other people to follow suit. The song tells the story about the situation in South Africa. It is also performed in rock and rap talk, styles of the time, apparently in order to reach a large youth audience. The following is an example (EMI 1C 0642404671):

SUN CITY

We're rappers and rockers
We're here to talk about South Africa we don't like what's going on
It's time for some justice it's time for the truth
We've realised there's only one thing we can do
I ain't gonna play Sun City
Relocation to phoney homelands
Separation of families I can't understand
23 million can't vote because they're black
We're stabbing our brothers and sisters in the back
I ain't gonna play Sun City
Our government tells us we are doing all we can
Constructive Engagement is Ronald Reagan's plan
Meanwhile people are dying and giving up hope
This quiet diplomacy ain't nothing but a joke
I ain't gonna play Sun City
Boputhutswana is far away
But we know it's in South Africa no matter what they say
You can't buy me I don't care what you pay
Don't ask me Sun City because I ain't gonna play
I ain't gonna play Sun City
It's time to accept our responsibility
Freedom is a privilege nobody rides for free
Look around the world baby it can't be denied
Why are we always on the wrong side
I ain't gonna play Sun City
Relocation to phoney homelands
Separation of families I can't understand
23 million can't vote because they are black
We're stabbing our brothers and sisters in the back

Other artists are Youssou N'Dour and Super Diamond De Dakar of Senegal. They released albums like Nelson Mandela and composed songs, like 'Soweto' that exposed racism in South Africa. 'Nelson Mandela was written to convey the truth about South Africa to rural listeners, many of whom would be unable to read newspaper accounts.' (Stapleton, and May 1987:121-2). In America Stevie Wonder highlighted the South African

situation during 1984 or 1985 Grammy awards. Knowing the importance of the event in terms of pulling a large number of crowds in America, Stevie Wonder dedicated his song, I just call to say I love you which had won the Grammy, to Nelson Mandela, in his acceptance remarks. As a result, all his records were banned in South Africa. Again, during the Mandela concert at Wembley stadium in London June 1988, he was the guest star who also performed free in the concert.

Another artist that played a great role in the South African struggle is Peter Gabriel. He composed a song about the death of Steve Biko, a South African Black Consciousness leader, who died in detention in 1977. Music is used as a means to notify and raise the consciousness of the people (Pholwana and Maleka, 1987). In addition the proceeds from the sales of their (international artists) records go to various charities, like The Africa Fund, based in New York City, and The International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, based in London. The income is used to 'benefit political prisoners and families in South Africa, educational and cultural needs of South African exiles...' (Artists Against Apartheid record). The following song by Peter Gabriel is an example (PGS612):

BIKO

In September '77, Port Elizabeth weather fine
It was business as usual in police number 619
O! Biko, Biko because Biko
Kill him macho, kill him macho the man is dead

When I try to sleep at night I can only dream in red
The answer I wrote is black and white only one colour dead
O! Biko, Biko because Biko
Kill him macho, kill him macho the man is dead

You can blow out a candle
But you can't blow out a fire
Once the flame begins to catch the wind will blow it higher
O! Biko, Biko because Biko
Kill him macho, kill him macho the man is dead

And the eyes of the world are watching now
Ha-ha-ha everyone (2x)
For all those for the change in South Africa
To all prisoners of conscience
To Stephen Biko
What happens now is up to you

6.2.3. Highlighting issues

Support groups like the Anti-Apartheid Movement, City of London Anti-Apartheid group, etc. have played a great role in highlighting the South African situation. The City group, picketing in front of the South African embassy at Trafalgar Square, claimed to have been responsible for the removal of Dennis Worrall, South African ambassador to Britain in 1988. But this idea is refuted by other people. They believe Worrall

left for personal reasons, for he could have gone anywhere other than South Africa if he left London out of conscience (interview with Sheik, September 1988).

Another group is Janako Arts, a group of artists from all over the world, and they are based in London. The group performs at various political conferences and seminars about South Africa. Sometimes they visit different high schools around London as resident artists. They read poetry, and sometimes instrumental performance is featured.

### 6.2.4. Putting pressure on the international community

Broadcasting media in Britain, Europe and U.S.A. have been promoting South African political performing arts. Works of political artists like Wally Serote were read over the BBC (Koapa, 1972:208). Television stations have been used to reflect the situation in South Africa. Performances and documentaries, like a documentary (by a British T.V. company in 1988) on children that were jailed during the 1985 State of emergency, are shown on television. Television appeals to the conscience of the masses as it reflects the situation as it is. It has been very successful in carrying the message to the outside world.

Liberation movements have used international media and their radio stations, like the ANC's 'Radio Freedom' (Manuel, op. cit. 110), to make people aware of the situation in South Africa, and to press for more pressure from the international world against South Africa.

### 6.2.5. Serving as a constant reminder

Record industries have also contributed in promoting South African political music. They produced Albums like Makeba and Belafonte, Sun City by Artists Against Apartheid, Biko by Peter Gabriel, etc. These albums involve freedom songs, encourage cultural boycott and serve as a constant reminder about the death of Biko in prison. This is one other method of informing and educating the masses who might otherwise not be aware or interested in South African politics (Irungu, 1988).

Film industries have also played an important role in producing films like 'Come Back Africa', an American-made documentary on apartheid (Anderson, op. cit. 120). Again, controversial movies like 'Cry Freedom' were also produced. The movie has been successful in dramatising the period around Steve Biko's death, although its critics complained that the movie is more about Donald Woods than Biko. The international

campaign reflects that there are many forms of contribution to destroy apartheid in South Africa, and there are many people who are concerned and involved.

## 6.3. POLITICAL PERFORMING ARTS IN WORLDWIDE CONTEXT

### 6.3.1. Nationalism and colonialism

Though the South African case is unique in having attracted such worldwide attention, in some respects parallels, in regard to political performing arts, may be drawn between black South Africa and many other African and other 'Third World' peoples who have struggled for independence. In most cases a common factor has been reaction against colonialism, and the popular expression, through the medium of song, of protest against the 'oppressors' and exhortations to struggle for 'freedom'. Finnegan (op. cit. 284-298) has provided pertinent examples from a wide selection of African States. Rhodes (1962, pp. 14-15, quoting from J.H. Nketia) cites a drum poem against British rule, used by the Ashanti in 1900.

In Kenya Leakey has observed the following text from the Mau-Mau hymns: 'You of the Kikuyu and Mumbi fight hard, that we may be given self-

government, that our land may be given back to us' (Leakey, op. cit. 63). In Zambia (former Northern Rhodesia) the following song was sung during the struggle for national liberation:

> ...Give us, give us our land
> That we may rule ourselves
>
> (quoted from Finnegan, op. cit. 295)

In Australia the Aboriginal peoples' nationalism is reflected in their songs and poems. Davis (1984) has commented on this point about the Nyoongah songs and poems which express yearning for lost tribal life, and objection to the imposition of the foreign culture:

> Example 1
>
> You have turned our land into a desolate place.
> We stumble along with a half white mind.
> Where are we?
> What are we?
> Not a recognised race
> There is a desert ahead and a desert behind.
>
> Example 2
>
> The tribes are all gone,
> The boundaries are broken;
> Once we had bread here,
> You gave us stone.
>
> (quoted from Scott, 1986:15)

6.3.2. Nationalism in non-colonial countries

In Japan music adapted from the traditional material is used to contribute to a postwar rebirth of Japanese pride (Hughes, 1985:258). Folk song is 'now considered an extremely powerful mechanism for triggering the Japanese people's ethnic consciousness in order to unite them for the struggle for freedom from outside (i. e. American) domination'(ibid. 259).

In Europe musical nationalism in the nineteenth century often reflected anti-German attitudes. Writers have referred to the 'rise of an important body of art music under the impetus of patriotic feeling...' (Grout, 1980:662). For example, Verdi believed that each nation should 'cultivate the kind of music that was native to it;...and deplored the influence of foreign (especially German) ideas in the work of his younger compatriots' (Grout, ibid. 621). In France anti-German feeling is reflected in Debussy's reaction to Wagner's music:

> His admiration for Wagner was coupled with revulsion against the latter's magniloquent rhetoric and his attempts to expound philosophy in music - an example of the detested German profondeur (ibid. 676).

In 19th-century Russia the anti-German rebellion is reflected clearly

in Rimsky-Korsakov's opera, Mlada. Although the opera has many aspects which reflect Wagner's influence it includes 'one chorus consisting of peasants shouting little else but "Woe to the Germans!"' (George, Adrian, The Times, January 28, 1989).

In other parts of Europe (Spain, Hungary, England, etc.) in the 19th and 20th centuries, nationalism was reflected through conscious use of folk elements as material or inspiration for composition (Grout, loc. cit. 662). The principal national composers of these countries were Felipe Pedrell, Isaac Albeniz, Manuel de Falla in Spain; Vaughan Williams, Gustav Holst in England; and Bartok in Hungary. Some compositions drew upon a country's particular legendary background or particular aspects of nature characteristic of that country, for example, Jean Sibelius's Kalevala in Finland, and Benjamin Britten's War Requiem in England (Grout, op. cit. 664 and 697).

Lastly, in America black nationalism reflects anti-White superiority and self-assertion, something that was referred to as 'reverse racism', ('Crow Jim', Kofsky, op. cit. 52). This is the same allegation labelled against PAC and Black Consciousness Movement. I have written on this point in 4.2.3. and 3.3.2. respectively. Kofsky has also noted that Jazz was also used to espouse nationalism in America. Max Roachs'

recordings (We insist: The freedom Now Suite and his wife Abbey Lincoln's Straight Ahead album) are examples of Jazz music that reflects nationalism (ibid.).

### 6.3.3. Social and other political issues

The way in which performing arts have reflected oppression in South Africa certainly has parallels in other countries. In America Kofsky has also observed that The Freedom Suite, by Sonny Rollins, is a musical depiction of the Afro-American struggle for liberation from oppression (Kofsky, ibid. 50). And Jazz has functioned as a 'vehicle for the expression of outraged protest at the oppression of Afro-Americans...' (ibid. 57).

Steadman (1981) has observed that artists in South Africa are concerned with the position of the worker in contemporary social structures, like urban industrial life that dislocates the values of the migrant worker...(Steadman, op. cit. 7). Leroy Vail and Landeg White have made similar observation about Mozambican political performing arts:

> ...the song's shape, as it moves from the singer's experience to that of her husband, stresses an even

> more important theme, that of the separation of husband and wife - the fundamental impact of this system of migrant labour on the family.
>
> (Vail, and White, 1983:897)

In chapter four I indicated that African political performing arts in South Africa reflect fear. Vail and White have also observed fear in Mozambican political performing arts:

> Although they (Mozambican resistance songs) characterize more sharply and eloquently than any others from the district the injustice and brutality of the plantation and concession systems, they make no mention at all of Portuguese rule. (ibid.)

In Zimbabwe Pongweni has observed that in Thomas Mapfumo' music some of the words had to be changed to a certain extent: 'let the meaning be understood through innuendo' (Pongweni, Alec J., quoted from Stapleton and May, op. cit. 216). Mapfumo's earlier cuts were 'carrying warnings and encouragement in a form sufficiently clouded to escape the notice of the authorities' (ibid. 218). Trevor Ap Simon has also commented on such linguistic camouflages (see 4.2.1.).

I have mentioned in chapter five that another characterisitc of contemporary political performing arts is that they are radical as a result of frustration. Scott has made a similar observation regarding

Australian Aboriginals' political performing arts. In The Chant of Jimmy Blacksmith film there is an episode about the rage and frustration Jimmy feels from the injustices to which he has been subject, which resulted at the cold-blooded brutality of his act; the axe-murder of the four women (Scott, op. cit. 8).

Bill Reed's theatrical play Trugannini (1975) is about the horrific story of the obliteration of the unique Tasmanian race...the last Tasmanian. 'The impact is cathartic - and confrontational. White consciousness must be pricked by such tough material, powerfully presented' (quoted from Scott, ibid. 7).

I have also established in 3.10.1. that political performing arts are used as a propaganda tool by the Government (refer to Info Song). In Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Mapfumo's music was hijacked by the Government when it wanted to deceive freedom fighters in order to arrest them:

> A series of 'sky-shouts' took place. Helicopters flew over the countryside, blasting Mapfumo's music from horn speakers. The music was followed by messages telling the people that Mapfumo had deserted ZANU and that he was now backing Muzorewa, and calling on everyone to stop fighting and support the government.
>
> (Stapleton and May, op. cit. 218)

6.3.4. Communism and political performing arts

It seems as if communists globally have regarded political performing arts as a tool to promote class struggle (from the Marxist viewpoint). Kavanagh has urged South African revolutionary artists to recognise what they are: 'creating becomes in fact an effective contribution to the revolutionary struggle. And in the South African revolution an effective contribution is considered to be that which operates in the interests of..."the majority" (class)' (Kavanagh, op. cit. XV).

In Japan the leftist musical trends that were strongly influenced by repatriates form Soviet Siberia, the Chinese revolution and Korean War stressed the internationalist element, and Soviet songs were especially popular (Hughes, op. cit. 257). Hara has urged that Japanese music should be nationalistic in form and socialistic in content (Hara, in Hughes, ibid. 259). In America, Frith has observed that the Communist Party used 'traditional rural music... to build class solidarity, rather than trying to create a new form of workers' music' (quoted in Hughes, ibid.).

CHAPTER 7

# THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PERFORMING ARTS

## 7.0. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will look at the harmony: structures of amagwijo,* (one particular genre of the Xhosa music) the macroform and microform. In macroform I will be concerned with circular and antiphonal structure; and parallel harmony. In the analysis of the microform I will be concerned with transcription and analysis; speech-tone relationship; vocal harmony; metre, and irony.

I will use the word harmony as defined by Ottman (1970:338) i.e. harmony 'can be present in any period of music history when the music contains two or more notes sounding simultaneously'. This is because the type of harmony we are concerned with is similar to Western pre-tertian harmony of 900-1200, that is, use of unisons, seconds, fourths, fifths, sixths, sevenths and octaves in parallel motion (See Apel 1972:372).

Since South African parallelism involves more notes and chords than 'free and contrary organum': contrary motion used 'side by side with parallel motion (in fourths, fifths, occasionally even thirds) and

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oblique motion' (Apel, 1972:627), I will use the word 'parallel harmony' from now onwards. Moreover, Kirby has suggested harmonic progression in his work which involves two notes sounding simultaneously. (Kirby, 1923:28)

## 7.1. MACROFORM OF 13.1.1.

### 7.1.1. Circular and antiphonal structure

In the example of the indigenous traditional music imbi la ndawo (that area is dangerous), (see appendix 13.1.1.) I have transposed the music a fourth lower in order to avoid the use of accidentals. The music is circular, repetitive and antiphonal or responsorial, that is, it follows a 'call and response' pattern. The 'calling' phrases are rendered by a soloist who has the liberty to extemporise to some extent. The response phrases, rendered by a chorus, are more regular and repetitive. Rycroft has observed that non-simultaneous entries of the voices seems to be the principle among the Nguni (Rycroft, 1967:101). I may also add that even the Sotho-speaking people and other African people living in South Africa also have vocal music of the amagwijo* type with non-simultaneous entries. Endings of the voices are also non-simultaneous.

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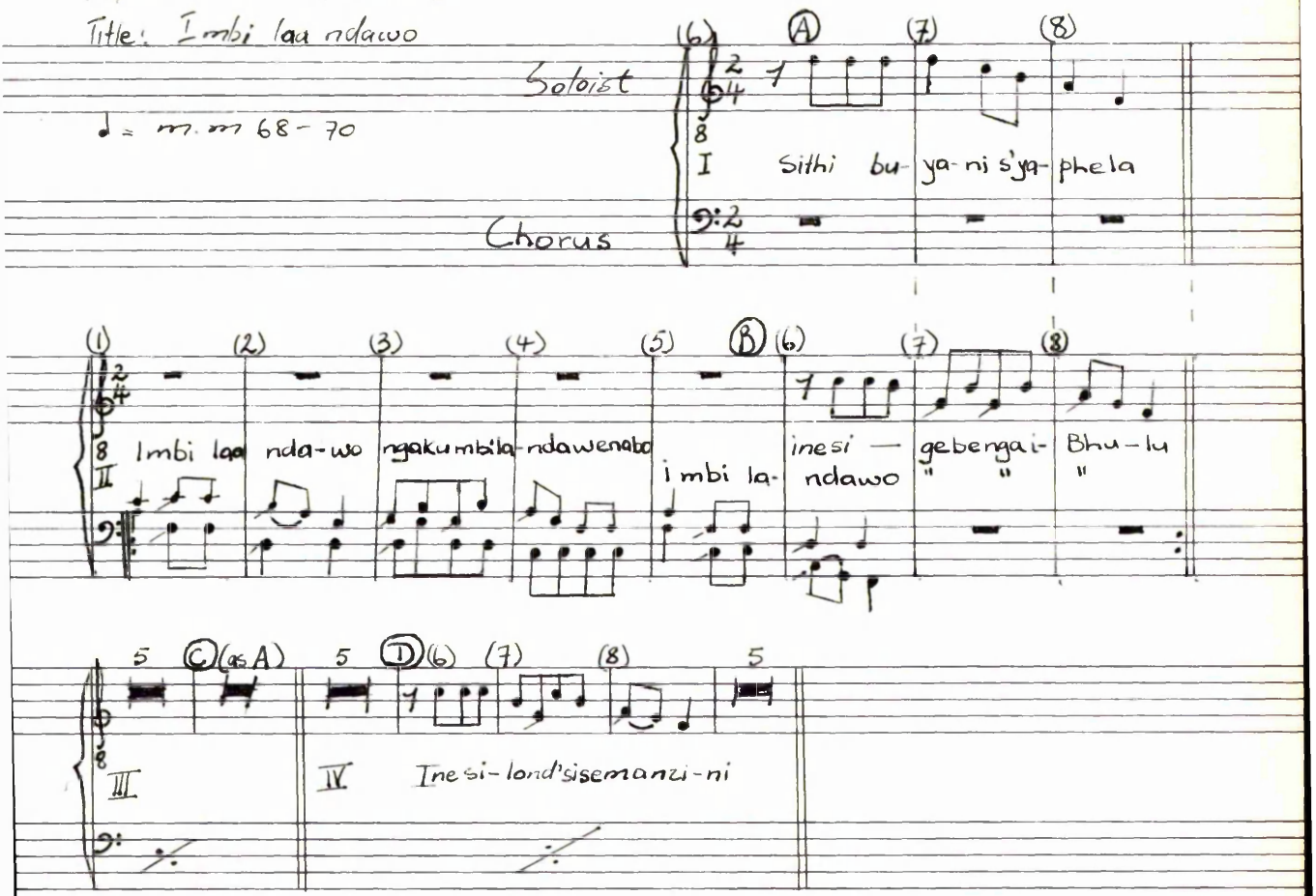
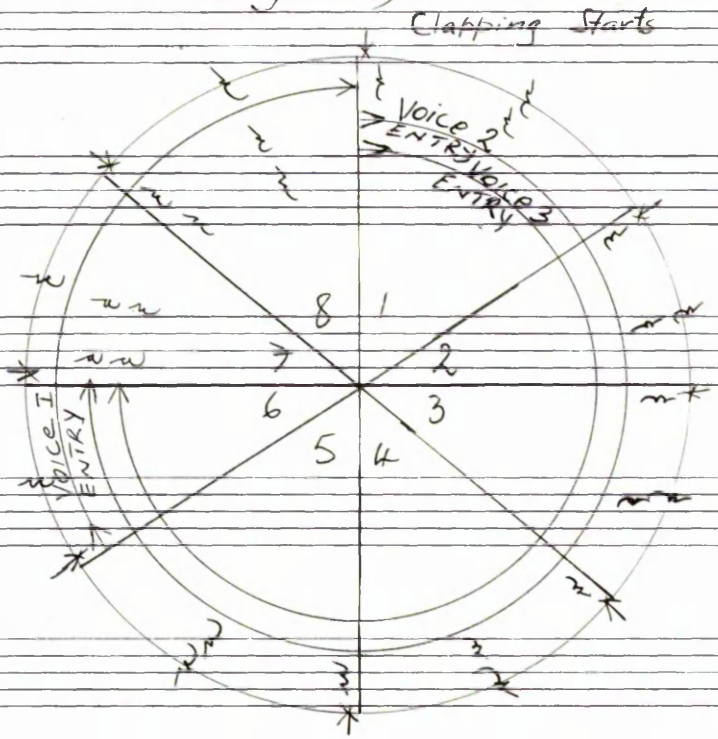
Appendix 13.1.1. (Figure 1(a))

Title: Imbi laa ndawo

♩ = m.m 68 - 70




Appendix 13.1.1. (Figure 1(a))



7.1.2. Parallel Harmony

The music is characterised by parallel motion, but 'the movement of a second melody in parallel motion is not, however, always an exact replica of the main melody' (Kirby, 1926:957-8 and Blacking, 1967:168). The music in appendix 13.1.1. is a typical example. Kirby has observed that 'in a song if speech-tones are strictly observed, only parallelism of the organum type would presumably be possible' (Kirby, 1954:926).

Rycroft (1967:98) has also observed that 'whenever an additional voice-part shares the text of one of the two main parts, it always moves 'in step'(parallel) with that part'. I share the same view in this statement, and the evidence is in ilanga litshonile (the sun has set) (See appendix 13.1.2. (a)).

## 7.2. MICROFORM OF 13.1.1.

### 7.2.1. Transcription and analysis

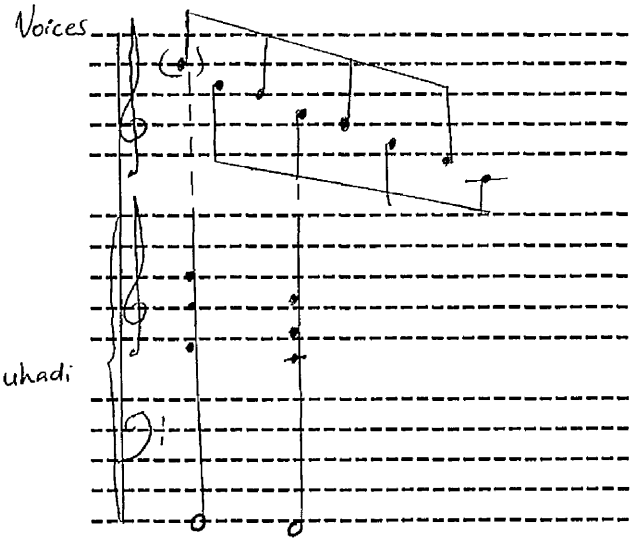
Pitch: Transposed a fourth lower (present c'=original f')

Strophe (cycle) length: 32 x 1/4 (transcribed as 8 bars of 2/4) sung four times, in this performance.

Tempo: ¼ = 68 - 70 m.m.

Figure 1 (b)

Mode: Haxetonic - dcbagf




This note-series is typical of indigenous Xhosa music. It is identical to what is commonly used in Xhosa bow-songs, i.e. songs accompanied on

the uhadi musical bow, where the bow provides an alternation of two fundamentals, representable as F and G (See Rycroft/Hansen/Dargie).

As has frequently been explained by the above writers: the third, fourth and fifth harmonic partials of these fundamentals supply the two triads, C - F - A and D - G - B, respectively, thus yielding the six notes, DCBAGF, which are selectively resonated for melodic use, and which are matched by the singers, who use the same six-note series (or sometimes only five of them) in such songs. According to Rycroft's interpretation: Alternation, on the uhadi, between the two fundamentals - which are the roots of the two triads - serves to provide a binary harmonic progression scheme analogous to an alternation between tonic and dominant in Western music, but with roots a whole tone apart instead of a fifth. Rycroft (following Blacking's analysis of Venda ocarina music - in Blacking, 1959) applies the term 'root progression' to this system of harmonic progression or alternation, and this has also been adopted by Hansen and Dargie.

In the present example (see fig. 1), the soloist's 3-bar calling phrase precedes the onset of the 8-bar repetitive cycle, in which the chorus (with two parallel voice parts - voices 2 and 3) responds with three 2-bar phrases followed by two bars' rest. The soloist subsequently

re-enters before the end of the cycle, each time (except last), overlapping with the last bar sung by the chorus, thus initiating recommencement and repetition of the cycle - comprising exact repetitions of the chorus phrases. Bar 6, in which the soloist re-enters, each time, is the only bar in which 3-part harmony occurs - resulting from the overlapping of solo and chorus parts.

Since there is no absolute pitch standard, it appears that the soloist's calling phrase sets the pitch, as many indigenous amagwijo* commence a solo vocal passage. (See appendix 13.1.1., 13.1.2., 13.1.3., and 13.1.4.) Hansen has also drawn a similar conclusion about the calling phrase and key signature (Hansen, op. cit. 752).

7.2.2. Chording in figure 1

(Underlining here denotes two notes to one syllable.)

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Chorus | c c | b a | g | g b | g b | a g | f | a f | d d | | | |
| | a f | d | d | d g | d d | c c | c | f c | ag f | | | |
| Leader | | | | | Cycle B | | | c c b | g b | g b | a g | f |
| | | | | | C | | | d d | d | c b | a | f |
| | | | | | D | | | c c | g b | g b | a g | f |
| Implied root of chords: | F | | G | | G | | F | | F: Mixed | | G | | F | |

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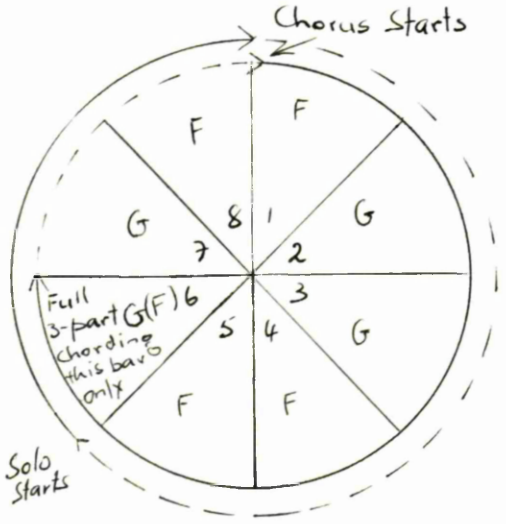
Possibly the mixed, F and G tonality in bar 6 may result from voice 3 imitating the cadential melodic sequence, A to F, of the soloist (in bar 8), and/or the voice 2 sequence (also A to F) in bar 4. This falling M3 sequence (either A - F or B - G) appears to be melodically cadential in several of the 2-bar phrases, in one or other of the voices.

'Cadence' bars 6, 14, 22, and 29 are in fact the soloist's <u>starting</u> bars. The preceding bars, in each case, are clearly on an F root, moving in voice 2 to what clearly implies a G root, but in voice three an F root, and in voice 1 sometimes implying a G and an F root. The chorus (voices 2 and 3) runs for 6 bars ending where voice 1 starts, then has 2 bars rest. Therefore no <u>collective</u> cadence (of all 3 voices). The solo part (voice 1) runs for 3 bars only, then has 5 bars rest. Chording with chorus occurs only in its first bar, and is apparently irregular there.

7.2.3. Chord roots in the 8-bar cycle

Figure 2 (hash marks represent rests)




| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8-bar : | | | | Solo ( | : D D : | : | : |
| cycle : | | | | | : C C B): | : | : |
| | | | | | : D D : | : | : |
| | | | | | : C C : | : | : |
| : C C : B A | G : G B : A G | F : A F | ; D : | : | : | | |
| : A F : D | D : D G : C | C : F C | : A G F : | | | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |

7.2.4. Observations on speech-tone

'The music follows the speech-tone pattern, but melodies are never slavish imitations of speech-tone; both they and their rhythms tend to be influenced by its fluctuations' (Blacking, 1967:167). Rycroft has further observed that music is influenced by the speech-tone pattern except where the words are 'used for their sound rather than their meaning'; when an accepted terminal or cadential interval progression is approached; when a falling note is spread over two notes, connected by portamento; when word patterns require high tone; in game songs and jingles; and in school and popular music (Rycroft, 1982:312-313). I have also observed that sometimes speech-tone does not influence music when it is used to draw the attention of the people. For example, the first entries of both imbi la ndawo and ilanga,in appendices 13.1.1. and 13.1.2., do not follow the speech-tone pattern. The reason is that perhaps those entries were altered from the original structures, and were gradually adopted.

In most cases the pitch adopted by a soloist when he starts igwijo is arbitrary and fortuitous: he just sings. But in order to be heard, he may find he has to raise his voice still higher, after he has started, and in so doing the pitch changes. This is not unusual in indigenous traditional performance, for example, the famous beginning slogan

'Hòyínà!' which actually means Anindi Hóyì ̃na! (Will you please pay attention) does not follow the speech-tone pattern. It is sounded in a manner that would draw attention of the people. Again in the police force the word 'attention' is sounded differently than in normal speech. Lastly, when the performer improvises the music does not always follow the speech pattern.

Nguni song-texts automatically include depressor consonants; in which 'breathy voice' phonation lowers in initial pitch of the following vowel (Rycroft, 1980 B:7-9 and 20-21). They are marked here by a subscript diaeresis sign [..] in the text, and grace notes in the music represent the initial lowering (Refer to appendix 13.1.1.) This is characteristic of the indigenous music of the Nguni peoples of South Africa, and its persistence reflects continuity.

## 7.3. STRUCTURES OF THE ADAPTED AMAGWIJO (Chants)

### 7.3.1. Vocal Harmony

There is very little difference between the rhythmic patterns of the original and adapted amagwijo*. Where there is a change, like the case in the fifth to the beginning of the ninth bar (see appendix 13.1.2.(b)),

*Refer to page 82

it is because 'language clearly affects music in that speech melody sets up certain patterns of sound which must be followed at least to some extent in music, if the music-text fusion is to be understood...' (Merriam, 1964:188).

At the end of the second and fourth phrases the pitches of the upper voice are in the lower voice and vice versa in the adapted song. This change of voices makes the ending traditional in essence but Western in form. The ending has adopted the Western parts, for example, soprano and alto instead of upper and lower voices. As a result of this change the texture of the adapted song at the end weakens, while it thickens in the original song. See appendices 13.1.2. (a) and 13.1.2. (b).

### 7.3.2. Izitibili and other neo-traditional music

Another Xhosa genre, known as Izitibili* are sometimes called 'Sounds'. I call them (together with all the music that reflects contact with Western music) neo-traditional because they comprise a blending of traditional rhythmic patterns and a foreign scale. For example, the patterns of isitibili (sound), uBoth' uyangcangcazela (Botha is shivering) in appendix 13.2.1. follow the indigenous traditional

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patterns in that the music is antiphonal or responsorial, that is, it follows the 'call and response' pattern.

The music is composed in the modern Western major scale. This is reflected in the accompaniment, as the music follows I - IV - V, V - IV - I formula. The chords of the formula are CEG, FAC, GBD. This formula forms the degrees of a Western modernised major scale, that is CDEFGABC. The pattern of a modernised Western scale is M2 M2 m2 M2 M2 M2 m2. The music in appendix 13.2.1. follows the same pattern. In America also, the kind of song that black church produces was based on Europeans or white Americans' religious songs. The black Americans changed the rhythms and melodies remained the same (Jones, loc. cit. 46).

### 7.3.3. Rhythm and its role

It has been observed that , in many African cultures, accentuation in music frequently does not exactly correspond with the strong beat. Blacking, 1955; Rycroft, 1962 and 1971; Hansen, 1981; and Dargie, 1988 have remarked on this point. Rycroft (1962:83-84) refers to this technique, in Xhosa dance songs, as:

> a subtly calculated off-beat relationship between word syllables and the regular dance-step and hand-clap rhythm... word syllables seldom exactly coincide with a hand-clap, and often fall somewhere between the beats. One gains the impression of a rather loose relationship between words and clapping.

He goes on to remark that 'this 'near-miss' relationship is not haphazard, however, but seems to be repeated with exactitude with each repetition of the song' (ibid.). It has also been observed, however, that in some cases syllables and vocal notes coincide with claps at the beginning and at the end of the phrase of a cycle, but not elsewhere. (See Jones and Kombe, 1952:49; and Hansen, op. cit. 624) Jones refers to the coincidence as 'teleological trend'. (Appendix 13.2.1. is an example.)

In some cases rhythm is provided by either hand-clapping, concussion sticks or any drumming that represents cowhide drumming and thumping. (See appendices 13.3.1. (a) and 13.3.3.) In the above examples it is possible that rhythm from these devices is meant to regulate the tempo of the music since there is no conductor as in European music. Clapping in appendix 13.2.1. is an example of rhythm that is meant to regulate the tempo. Here the leader changes the tempo of the song with the use of the hands after she has started singing without clapping. (tape no. 37) The musical example for appendix 13.3.3. appears under

section 7.4.4., example 3, tape no. 37. Again, here the rhythmic accompaniment is apparently meant to regulate the tempo.

Hornbostel (1928) observed that Africans perceived rhythm differently from the Europeans. Following Hornbostel's 'theory of contrast perception' between African and European rhythm, Blacking (op. cit. 12) deduced that Africans think of sounds as 'by-products of rhythmical movements'. Dargie (1988:82) has made a similar comment: 'in African theory rhythm is built up out of the body and is part of dancing'.

Jones, and Kombe (op. cit. 1) observed that the 'music of the dance and the dance itself are one individual whole'. Blacking (1955, loc. cit.) suggested that there is a possibility of the derivation of the musical concept from the physical pattern of the movement, since music for dancing is related to the dance movements in many cases in African music. There is an indication that the toyi-toyi* concept must have been derived from the physical pattern of the movement. This is because although the word originated in the early 1980s, I have never been able to get the meaning of the word. Its derivation is obscure: everyone has a different theory of how it came about. I have written on toyi-toyi in sections 5.4.3. - 5.4.4.5. (Refer also to Dontsa, 1988:15, note 38)

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*Refer to page 150

## 7.4. METRE

### 7.4.1. Observations on poetic metre

The question of metre has been addressed thoroughly by many researchers, and their findings were that metre is not a characteristic of African poetry from any part of Sub Saharan Africa. (However, there are a few exceptions, and we will deal with them later.) Rouget (1966:46) has written on this subject that 'no African text, as far as we know, has been collected, that might strictly speaking be ruled by one of the versemaking systems...'. A similar observation has been made by Vilakazi (1938:111) about Zulu izibongo*:

> Zulu has none of these outward decorations. The primitive poet did not think of reducing his words to written form, but composed as he was impelled by inward inspiration. It is only today that linguistic scholars are trying to discover the basis on which primitive Bantu poetry rests. A perfect metrical scheme as found in Classic, and with some disciples of this scheme in European poetry is secondary, it is acquired through study and training.

Rycroft (1960:77) has also written and reiterated this point about Zulu izibongo, stating that, 'such things as regular 'feet' are not to be found, but rather the 'free rhythm of speech''. Nketia (1971:755) also made a contribution on the same subject:

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*Refer to page 30

> The basis of verse structure in these languages is very different from what one finds in the European classical tradition. The identifying characteristics of verse in African languages must be sought not only in metre or stress patterns which tend to be used in irregular and variable forms but in rhythmic phrasing, symmetrical patterning in lengths of linear units, in the use of tones, alliteration, the techniques of repetition, parallelism and chiasmus.

It seems as if the reason for the 'absence' of metre in African poetry is because poetry is not only a non-written composition, but it is also composed extemporaneously. I come from a group that has been endowed with that gift, the Xhosa group. Opland (1975) has also made similar observations in his research (quoted in Rycroft 1980:306).

### 7.4.2. Inherently metrical performances

Although metre has been noticed in some indigenous African performances, it has been stressed that it is mainly children's jingles that have inherently metrical texts. Rycroft has observed these jingles among the Zulu people. They are found in the imilolozelo genre (children's or nursery jingles) (Rycroft 1975 A:83 and Rycroft 1975 B:352). The following is an example of such jingles:

Example 1

| | |
|---|---|
| Eshe Kholo! | O Kholo! |
| Eshe Kholo ka Nkoviye, Kholo | O Kholo, child of Nkoviye, you yellow billed kite! |
| Uphetheni ngomlom'? | What do you hold in your beak? |
| Ngipheth' amas' omntwan'; | I hold a child's curds; |
| Ngiwas' ukuz' anceng', | I take it to make him beg, |
| Ancenge kancinyan', | Beg just a tiny bit, |
| Athi 'gqi-gqi-gqi', | Saying 'gqi-gqi-gqi', |
| ... | ... |

The Xhosa speaking people have a similar genre performed by children.

Example 2

| | |
|---|---|
| Ntakana ntyilo-ntyilo | [Little bird that sings |
| Uphetheni ngomlomo? | What is in your mouth? |
| Ndipheth' amas' omntwana | It is child's sour milk |
| Uwasaph' engekavuthwa? | Where to, as they are not ready? |
| Ndiwasa kuZinqakule | I am taking them to Zinqakule |
| zinqakule kepe-kepe | Zinqakule kepe-kepe [2] |
| ..... [1] | |

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1. I could not remember the whole performance, and many people that I asked did not remember more than I did.

2. Kepe-kepe is just a word for 'improvisation', used here to fill out the regular 8 syllable metre. There is no specific meaning for it.

Other examples are Cumbelele or Ncweba-ncweban' [3] and finger-naming jingles. They are well distributed among Nguni people as Rycroft (1984:12) has indicated. The following are some further Xhosa examples.

Example 3 (a)

Cumbelele, cumbelele
Hop' phasalala

Example 3 (b)
or

Ncweba-ncweban', ncweba-ncweban'
Hop' qhotolozi!

Example 4

| | |
|---|---|
| Ngucikicane lo | [This is little finger |
| Ngunondwayiza lo | This is ring finger |
| Ngubhinc' iz'khakha lo | This is middle finger |
| Ngunondwayiz' omkhulu lo | This is index finger |
| Ngubhonts' omkhulu lo | This is thumb finger] |

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3. This is a game that is played by stacking hands of different people. They sing Ncweba-ncweban' or Cumbelele as they pinch one another. It is taught to children who are as young as six months.

### 7.4.3. Performances with extrinsic metre

Performances with text that is 'usually not inherently metrical' are conditioned by the extrinsic metre of the accompaniment. For example, dance step sequences, musical bow rhythms imposed upon it, work movements as in digging or lifting or grinding corn provide an extrinsic metrical framework, against which the performance is timed (Rycroft, 1980:302).

There are also short performances like izigiyo, a combination of speech, dance, song and chant, which are not at all poems. Metre is found in performances which are mainly used for entertainment. The following are izigiyo performed by the boys. [4] See appendix 13.3.1. for the transcription.

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4. They are performed in a period before circumcision eve by some of the Hlubi ethnic boys on their way home from the forest. They would be carrying short logs, that would be used during the circumcision eve by men, and accompanied by men and singing iingoma zokutheza (wood-gathering songs). Izigiyo are performed to allow the leader to change the song to a lower tonality as it has moved higher after it was sung for a long time. They are also performed at the kraal by the same boys, one after another, to entertain the audience that has gathered by the kraal as they saw the boys coming. Boys' izigiyo are followed by men's izigiyo, usually only one man performs to wind up the activity.

Example 1

Solo : Baphi? ..... Baphi?
Chorus : ..... Naba besiza, sebezawuvela
Solo : Hayi! ..... Hayi!
Chorus : ..... Naba besiza, sebezawuvela

Translation

Solo : Where are they? ..... Where are they?
Chorus : ..... There they come, they are about to appear.
Solo : No! .....No!
Chorus : ..... There they come, they are about to appear.

7.4.4. Political jingles

Political performing artists have adapted jingles, and the political slogans have been converted into political jingles. The following is an example of a political jingle. (tape no. 36) For the transcription see 13.3.2. (Thanks to D. Dargie for the tape recording)

Example 2

1. (a) Solo : An injury to one ----- an injury to all! (2x)
   (b) Chorus : ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi!

(a) Umfazi kaBotha akazali nok'zal', uzal' amagundwan' [5]
(b) ---------- Voetsek! ---------- Voetsek! [6]
5. (a) Umfazi kaTambo uyazala nok'zal', uzal' amageril'
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi!
(a) Wee-- gq' uMK killer man [7] (2x)
(b) ---------- Hayi!

9. (a) An injury to one ---------- an injury to all! (2x)
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi!
(a) Umfazi kaLe Grange akazal' nok' zal' uzal' amaVarara [8]
(b) ---------- Voetsek! ---------- Voetsek
13. (a) Umfazi kaLe Grange akazal' nok zal' uzal' uMalan
(b) ---------- Voetsek! ---------- Voetsek
(a) Umfazi kaTutu uyazala nok' zal' uzal' amaVangathi
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi!
17. (a) Umfazi kaTambouzal' amaCadres
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi!
(a) Wee-- gq' uMK killer man (4x)
(b) ---------- Hayi!
21. (a) Masoj', masoj', masoj's a killer man (2x)
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi!
(a) MK 's a killer man (2x)
(b) ---------- Hayi!
25. (a) Masoj', masoj', masoj's a killer man
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi

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5. Amagundwana (rats) are 'collaborators', people hired by the Government to protect those that do not want to participate in anti-Government activities, like abandoning their working positions when there is a call for that. They are also hired to watch shoplifters.

6. Voetsek is a rough command to go away, applied offensively to a person. (See Branford, 1980:329)

7. MK is an abbreviation of umkhonto (assegai), a military wing of ANC.

8. Amavarara are people who are against umzabalazo (the struggle).

Translation

1. (a) An injury to one ---------- an injury to all (2x)
   (b) ---------- Hey! ---------- Hey!
   (a) Botha's wife is hopeless, she gives birth to collaborators
   (b) ---------- Voetsek ---------- Voetsek
5. (a) Tambo's wife is respectable, she gives birth to guerillas
   (b) ---------- Hey! ---------- Hey!
   (a) There appears MK, the killer man (2x)
   (b) ---------- Hey!

9. (a) An injury to one ---------- an injury to all (2x)
   (b) ---------- Hey! ---------- Hey!
   (a) Le Grange's wife is not respectable she gives birth to dissenters
   (b) ---------- Voetsek ---------- Voetsek
13. (a) Le Grange's wife is not respectable she gives birth to Malan
   (b) ---------- Voetsek ---------- Voetsek
   (a) Tutu's wife is respectable, she gives birth to militants
   (b) ---------- Hey! ---------- Hey!
17. (a) Tambo's wife gives birth to Cadres
   (b) ---------- Hey!
   (a) There appears MK, the killer man (4x)
   (b) ---------- Hey!
21. (a) Soldiers, soldiers, soldiers are killer men
   (b) ---------- Hey! ---------- Hey!
   (a) MK 's a killer man (2x)
   (b) ---------- Hey! ---------- Hey!
25. (a) Soldiers, soldiers, soldiers are killer men
   (b) ---------- Hey! ---------- Hey!

The above performance is another style of Toyi-toyi. There is an appeal for unity implied in the first line, that is, 'an injury to one, an injury to all'. Respect is given to the mothers of the guerrillas, militants and soldiers, Mrs Tambo and Mrs Tutu. This is implied in lines five, thirteen and fifteen: The 'Wee- gq' uMK killer man' slogan

implies hope for freedom as a result of the clashes between freedom fighters and the Government. More respect is reflected in the response of the chorus', 'Hayi' remark, in Toyi-toyi performance.

There is denouncement of Botha's and le Grange's wives in lines three and eleven. More denouncement is shown in the response of the chorus and this is implied in lines four and twelve by the word voetsek ('get away'). Botha's name is a symbol of the Government as a head of State, and Le Grange's name is a symbol of the Defence Force as he is the minister of Defence. An exclamation of ending is heard at the end of the performance.

The performance is 'melodic' although it is a recitation. The linear diagram 13.3.2. shows pitch contours for the text if performed in normal speech. The melodic pattern, with the exception of the English slogan 'an injury to one...' sort of follows the speech-tone pattern. This is common in African music of South Africa. Rycroft (1984:3ff) has again written extensively on this subject, as he did in the 1960s, in his paper on 'Zulu melodic and non-melodic vocal styles'. I have also applied his signs that represent speech-tone in staff notation.

I have also observed that, unlike the original and adapted amagwijo,* in appendices 13.1.2. (a) and (b), the part that is played by the

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soloist in izigiyo is played by the chorus in the political slogans. Secondly, because there are no signs of Western contact technically and rhythmically, in either of the performances - except that sometimes the performance is conducted in English in adapted slogans - there is no difference in the texture of the performance as there is at the end of the second phrases of indigenous and adapted amagwijo.

The following is another example of political slogans conditioned by extrinsic metre, that is, dance steps and a drum, see 13.3.3. for the transcription. (tape no. 37)

Example 3

Solo : Hey' mabutho! (Hey regiments)
Chorus: Zingqongqo, Hey'! zingqongqo (Everything is just fine)
Solo : Hey' mabuthw' eHey' (2x)
Chorus: Zingqongqo, Hey'! Zingqongqo
Solo : Kill the enemy (3x)
Chorus: Zingqongqo, Hey'! Zingqongqo
Solo : Kill the Boers (3)
Chorus: Zingqongqo, Hey'! zingqongqo
Solo : mabuthw' ePEYCO (5x) (Port Elizabeth Youth Congress)
Chorus: Zingqongqo, Hey'! zingqongqo
Solo : Kill the Boers (2x)
Chorus: Zingqongqo, Hey'! Zingqongqo
Solo : Kill the enemy (2x)
Chorus: Zingqongqo, Hey'! zingqongqo
Solo : Kill the puppet (2x) (Implying homeland leaders)
Chorus: Zingqongqo, Hey'! Zingqongqo
Solo : Kill the enemy (2x)
Chorus: Zingqongqo, Hey'! Zingqongqo
Solo : Hey mabuthw' eHeyi'!
Chorus: Zingqongqo, Hey'! zingqongqo

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*Refer to page 211

Solo : mabuthw' ePEYC' Hey! 95x)
Chorus : Zingqongqo, Hey'! zingqongqo
E! MK!!!

The word amabutho (singular ibutho) is the Zulu name for soldiers, warriors or regiments who used to stay at the King's palace for his services. It was adopted during the 1980s consumer boycott, to refer to young boys instructed to monitor the consumer boycott. They monitored African people buying from the Whites' shops during the consumer boycott period, and this was during UDF's era. Zingqongqo (everything is fine) refers to boycott plans, that is, everything went according to plan. 'Kill the Boers' slogan refers to Whites' business, they must be boycotted until they close down (interview with Boy-boy Sana in Grahamstown in September 1988). It also refers to the security police and the defence force which must be killed.

The recitation is 'intoned', Rycroft calls it 'non-melodic', but follows the speech-tone pattern. Seemingly this style is common in battle-cries. Rycroft (1984:7) has referred to the battle-cries of Zulu regiments, known as izaga. There is also use of igubu/isigubhu (cowhide drum) in the above performance. This adds on the traditional flavour: the involvement of igubu in a performance is a common characteristic among the African people.

## 7.5. PEDIGREE

### 7.5.1. Purpose

It is common among the African people living in South Africa to announce an ancestral line of descent when they introduce themselves to one another. It is also common in a marriage ceremony and this is done by women competing in front of the couple. Lastly African iimbongi* in their performances also include the king's line of descent, particularly at the beginning of their performances. Sometimes one hears a 'cry of public announcement of the events of the day' (William Shaw, in Opland, 1984:184-6).

Perhaps the purpose of reciting pedigrees is to teach the younger generation about their ancestors and their history, as there was no register to record a line of descent or remind people about their history. It is also possible that it is another way of determining and training traditional iimbongi. A young boy and sometimes a girl will start by reciting his/her line of descent and will get congratulations from the elders if he/she recites without stoppages of forgetfulness for a long time. This enables them to overcome stage fright at an early age.

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*Refer to page 173

7.5.2. The Political role

Pedigree declaration has been noticed among the political performing artists, and in political sphere maybe this serves the same purpose of reminding people of their history. It is not possible for one to plan for the future if one does not know the past; as they say, 'in order to know where you are going you must know where you come from'. South African history has been changed drastically. The Government has gradually changed African history by replacing indigenous kings with its own, and probably iimbongi recite pedigree to reveal and fight against that deliberate misrepresentation.

It is possible that pedigree declarations are also meant to draw strength from the ancestors, and to serve as an inspiration to the younger generation to fight for what rightfully belongs to them. In a performance at a funeral of a high school child killed by the police in Grahamstown, South Africa 1985 the performer opened with a combination of two quotations. One is Mqhayi's famous 'Hoyina' (pay attention, please!) (Mqhayi, 1931:60). The other is Rubusana's title for his book Zemk' inkomo Magwalandini (You are losing your cattle, boys) (Rubusana, 1911). These quotations serve as an introduction of a pedigree and to revive the spirits of the people who have lost a comrade (Boy-boy, '88). (See appendix 11.1.5.)

The quotations are followed by a pedigree declaration, 'Yini na le, mzi kaNtu, kaPhalo, kaTshiwo, kaNgconde, kaKwane? (What is this, progeny of Ntu, Phalo, Tshiwo, Ngconde, Kwane?). This is to encourage the Africans to continue with the struggle despite draconic actions by the Government, which are meant to frighten the Africans (Boy-boy, '88).

## 7.6. IRONY

### 7.6.1. Meaning and Categories

South African political performing arts have also been characterised by the use of irony, an 'art of indirection and juxtaposition, relying for its success on such techniques as understatement... and other forms of wit in the expression of incongruities' (Fowler 1982:102). Some people have observed two categories, the dramatic and verbal. In this section I have chosen to deal only with the verbal which is a 'form of speech in which one meaning is stated and a different, usually antithetical, meaning is intended' (Preminger 1974:407).

The following extract from a performance by The Sounds of Soweto, South African group based in London, reflects irony in South African political performing arts: (tape no. 38)

We beg your pardon South Africa! We beg your pardon South Africa! for the lies that the press and enemies have heaped upon you. Denouncing you as racist, whereas you are the most democratic and free country the world has yet to see.

We beg your pardon South Africa! We beg your pardon South Africa! for the many communists, terrorists, anarchists who inhabit your prison, for they deserve to be there as they are a threat to peace, to safety of our rosy-cheeked blond haired children, detract us saying you are oppressive, but that is just another lie.

We beg your pardon South Africa! We beg your pardon South Africa! for your peace-loving policemen who are said to be torturing prisoners, whereas we all know those are self-inflicted lacerations and cigarette burns. We are really sorry for those who are supposed to have been murdered when actually they committed suicide.

For the man who nailed his own penis on the prison's floor in a frenzy of self-terrorism. For the man who caused treachery and uproar when he imagined he was a seagull and threw himself out of the window in John Vorster Square prison.
We beg your pardon South Africa!

For those who make pass books because Africans need them, especially in toilets without paper rolls. For the miners who dig our gold and diamonds for our wives to glitter in, and if they die in those mines through their own negligence, then what? Ha! ha! we can always get some more.

For the United Nations, O.A.U., ANC, PAC, BCM, and for all those who claim that your time is running out, your time is here for you to say, 'I beg your pardon'.

7.6.2. Analysis

The above oration is dominated by a slogan, 'We beg your pardon South Africa', which is not used as a compliment in this context. It is rather

used as an expression of disgust, abhorrence, shock and disbelief over the Government's propaganda campaign under the anti-communist banner and under the cloak of democracy while committing atrocities. Another disbelief is caused by the fact that these atrocities are committed with the blessing of the Western countries which have been accused of adopting double standards and unprincipled stands about South Africa.

The irony here is that the same Western countries that make a big noise to the Eastern bloc about democracy are the same countries that have ties with South Africa. Atrocities by the Government have also been ironically expressed in lines one to six, as the performer means the opposite of what he said in those lines. The statement 'you are the most democratic and free country the world has yet to see' from line four to five has been hyperbolically and to an extent sarcastically expressed, and this is done maybe for the sake of effect.

The Government's concern with the minority's interests at the expense of the majority is expressed sarcastically in lines seven and eight in that the Government does not care what the world says about human rights, it does not care about the sufferings of the African people in that country as long as the White people are comfortable, and that is all that matters to it.

There is irony in the word 'peace' in line eight, and that is, despite Government clampdowns and arrest under the pretext of peace, there are more uprisings and cases of civil disobedience. The will for self-determination is so immense that arrests do not threaten them.

It is also said that in irony the 'speaker is conscious of double meaning and the victim unconscious' (Preminger 1974:407). The word 'peace' in line eight also carries double meaning in that to the Government supporter 'peace' is used in its ordinary context, whereas to the groups that are fighting the existing system 'peace' is used in another context, that is, in a mocking manner which in speech it is 'possible to indicate by tone of voice' (Fowler 1982:102). This is another form of verbal irony which operates by 'exploiting deviations from syntactic norms, and the ability to recognise such irony depends upon an appreciation of the particular linguistic or sometimes more general social, or moral context'. (Ibid.)

A feeling of detestation, abhorrence and loathing is reflected in the oration in lines ten to thirteen because of the denial of the obvious offence by the police who torture political prisoners during interrogation. Lines thirteen to nineteen are the purported reasons the police give if political detainees happen to die in detention, as

these are sometimes reflected in postmortem examinations. The orator is ridiculing such police explanations as suggested in these lines.

Lines twenty and twenty-one imply that money is directed to wrong projects and suggest projects to which money should be directed. Again, the last part of line twenty-one continuing to line twenty-four reveal the Government's exploitation of Africans and its impassive attitude over the death of the miners. There is also a suggestion that the Government does not care how many Africans can die as a result of the digging of gold. To them all that matters is gold for their wives to glitter in. The statement, 'if they die in those mines through their own negligence', in line twenty-three is used ironically.

## 8. CONCLUSION

### 8.1. Success and the future of political performing arts

The African people in South Africa have been successful in the adoption of the traditional methods (using performing arts as a weapon to register opposition to the abuse of power) in order to achieve their objectives: promoting the struggle for national liberation; objection to culture alienation; etc. Contemporary political performing arts have served their purpose and have also succeeded in conveying political

message to the oppressed African people and the Government, and to the international world, in that the Government has not been able to stamp them out. Possibly, because in most cases ideas are conveyed through performance instead of being put in writing.

Political performing arts have been able to bring to the notice of the people that culture is an important instrument in the struggle for liberation, therefore it should be preserved. This is demonstrated in the manner continuity with the past is reflected and emphasized. They have been successful to raise consciousness of the people against cultural invasion. I have also pointed out how successful have they been in showing fear and frustration among the South Africans, both Africans and Europeans.

Artists have been able to reach the international world through international forum, like performing for the international world, selling soundrecordings all over the world and having bookstalls for their works (poems) in conferences on any topic about South Africa. They (artists) and other support groups have been able to organise people and rally for the support through picketing, cultural boycotts, etc.

The situation of Africans in South Africa has been dramatically depicted through performing arts: people live under miserable conditions, poverty, hunger, inhumanity, oppression etc., a situation that has caused a national outcry and national reaction. Lastly, performing arts have been capable of uniting people to fight for a common cause: national liberation. Finally, performing arts have demonstrated that there are other roles they can play in the society than just to be enjoyed as art forms.

Regarding the future of political performing arts in South Africa, there are high probabilities that they will still be involved in a free 'South Africa/Azania'. They will be used either to promote the ruling Government's ideology, like they were used in Tanzania in 1967 to spread Socialism and its policies (Finnegan, op. cit. 298), or to condemn the abuse of power by the authorities, like the music of Fela Anikulapo Kuti of Nigeria (Marre and Charlton, op. cit. 91). They can also be used in helping other countries which are still experiencing repression.

Lastly, they can be used to make more money quickly by the artists, as did Sunny Okosun of Nigeria. He chose catchy expressions derived from current events and titles of popular books, like "Fire in Soweto" or "Papa's land" or "Let my people go", as titles of his songs. The Anti-

Apartheid support group of London has been accused of using political performing arts for commercial reasons, cashing in on the Mandela family. I have written on this in section 3.8.2.

# 9. APPENDIX I

## 9.1. BIOGRAPHIES OF SOME OF THE CONSULTANTS OFTEN REFERRED TO IN THE THESIS

### 9.1.1. Mtshanam Phindangene and Manyoko Cabin

At the time this thesis was written Phindangene's and Manyoko's names could not be mentioned in the thesis for security reasons. Phindangene was in the early forties and Manyoko in the late thirties, and this was in August 1988. They were teaching in the King William's Town area. Phindangene wanted to leave the country in 1976 during the Soweto uprisings, but family commitments which would have made him feel guilty and regret his actions, had he left, stopped him from leaving the country.

Manyoko was involved in the 1972-3 Durban strikes, although he was not directly involved. He was among the students who did not come back after they had left Fort Hare university in 1973 as a result of the uprisings in Durban and other problems at Fort Hare. He was also affected by the 1976 Soweto uprisings while he was a student at Fort Hare, South Africa.

They both got their political baptism from the Black Consciousness Movement, as ANC and PAC were banned in 1960. In 1984 they attended many funerals of the political activists and students killed mostly by the security forces. It was during these gatherings that they saw the role of political performing arts by the African people in South Africa. Political performing arts performed in such gatherings were toyi-toyi, slogans, poetry and freedom songs. It was in these gatherings that Manyoko was convinced that a political performing artist is a born leader, as he observed that not everybody can lead the toyi-toyi performance. They (Phindangene and Manyoko) observed that political performing arts have the effect of uniting people.

9.1.2. Lefifi Tladi

Lefifi Tladi is a South African Black Consciousness Cultural Movement political artist who is in exile in Sweden. He was in his early forties at the time I interviewed him (April 1987). He was born in Garankua, Pretoria in South Africa. He became serious through listening to performing arts recordings in 1964, and started his career by opening a youth club called 'Youth Club the Olympia' in 1966. This involved indoor games and Jazz music, which was intended to curb juvenile delinquency.

In 1969 he transformed the youth club into a museum of African Arts. He collected paintings from many African artists and invited students to see more works of African artists. In 1970 the first of his performing band groups was born, and it was called Malombo Jazz Messengers. He was with Fanyana, Gilbert and Rantobeng at the beginning, and in 1971 Laurence joined them. They were playing in local primary and high schools.

In 1971 they went to Soweto, and at that time they were calling themselves Dashiki. The reasons why they changed the name of the groups were firstly, to move away from the conventional Malombo name, secondly, they chose Dashiki to identify themselves with African Nationalism as Dashiki is a Nigerian T-shirt. It was during this time when he met Steve Biko (honourary President of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) until his death in 1977) who came to see him, and talked him into joining BCM. They talked with Steve Biko for three days without sleeping.

He became friendly with Mandla Langa, one of the most phenomenal poets. They began some kind of Cultural wing of BCM. They performed all over South Africa, and also worked with painters. They worked with groups like Black Arts Students (BAS) based in Durban; Theatre Company (TECON) who were performing plays like 'Black Images'; and formed Theater Union of South Africa with groups like 'Second Prayers' from Port Elizabeth.

Around 1975 he did a long tour, and had interviews with musicians throughout South Africa. They went as far as Port Elizabeth, and they were staying at Banny Pityana's place, a BCM leader after Steve Biko was banned. He collected a lot of photographs in Port Elizabeth. They did not stay for a long time because the police came and ordered them to get out of Port Elizabeth. They drove back to Pretoria.

They performed at the University of the North, at Turfloop, in Natal, at Ngoye, Natal - Medical University (Black section), University of Cape Town, and University of Witwatersrand. Most students were shocked when they heard their performances. They (students) made negative responses, because they were attacked and told that they did not have a strong base as they did not know much about their culture. Some students could not take the heat and left their shows, while others manhandled and harrassed them.

His group played in many festival competitions at Jabulani amphitheatre. In one festival their performance included the reading of poems, and when they came to position number two to the Drive group people booed the decision and this was followed by pandamonium. People were crazy about their performances, even when they performed in Durban at the Juris Fountain, people felt 'this is it'. They had the following as their opening poem wherever they performed:

Stop listening to people talk
Listen to the voice of the air
Listen to the voice of the fire
Dashiki is the voice
Dashiki is the voice of our forefathers
Our forefathers are not dead
They speak to us through music
Dashiki is the voice of the revolution
Here we go!

During Africa week at Turfloop University, organised by Nkondo, Lefifi took his collection from his museum and exhibited it at the university. Students at the university were stunned to see such an abundance of African art - painting, books, etc. This raised a large percentage of people's consciousness about African art.

The difference between his group and others like Mihloti was that Lefifi's group performed even in White areas, like the University of Witwatersrand, while others did not. They worked more with poets and they were called 'Black Voices Speak', which was a group of poets formed by Dan Matera. They were just poets, and Lefifi and his group provided musical instruments. They organised concerts around Johannesburg. In their performance they were following the traditional style of performing and mixing poems with the music.

Late in 1975 his group was harrassed by the Government, Rantobeng left for Botswana and Lefifi was arrested. The group sort of broke up, but Lefifi insisted that they must continue because stopping then might break the morale of the people. They could not agree and Lefifi started another band called 'The Poets'. He was with Kana-kana, Boshi and others. He did not perform much with this group as he was arrested during the 1976 Soweto uprisings. After three months he was out on bail, and while on bail he jumped it and left the country with six others.

### 9.1.3. Molefe Phetho

Phetho is another political and cultural activist of the Black Consciousness Movement. However, we will be concerned with Phetho the cultural activist. He was born in south Africa in the Transvaal and was in his late fifties at the time of our interview, 17th June, 1987. He started with classical music in 1959, and in 1966 he came to England to study for four years. After this he had contact with Venda and Tsonga indigenous performers from Louis Trichard.

After watching theatre groups around Johannesburg, which were performing and complaining about the situation in South Africa, six or seven of them came together and decided to form a theatre of liberation. This was a theatre about the solution; a theatre of no compromise, 'the standard will be ours, the material will be the material that we want to use, and we will make sure that in plays and poetry we will only read Black works'. They 'rejected white

artistic leadership, criticism, financial sponsorship, and inter-racial front organisations such as the abortive South African Theatre Organisation (SATO)' (Star, Johannesburg, quoted in Coplan, op. cit. 223).

He was the co-founder of Mihloti (Tears): tears of anger and not the tears of desperation, that is, 'what else can we do'. They were conscious of wearing Afro-shirts, beads, to make sure that their identity was not mistaken. They brought dummy guns on stage when they were performing to signify revolution, as they believed that it was the only solution.

He was also the co-founder of MDALI or Music, Dance, Arts, Literature Institute. The intention was to stop exploitation of the black sculptors and painters and especially plastic artists by the White impressarios and gallery owners. They decided to run black festivals annually where all works of art were exhibited. There were theatre groups, poetry reading and other performing arts.

They encountered competition from the White impressarios as they made more offers through their agents, including liquor and keeping artists in the suburbs during festival times. Sometimes gallery owner's agents threatened the artists as they were exhibiting without permission. On the other hand liberal Whites were also getting into Black theatre. They organised workshops, and enticed many of their artists. Only the committed artists remained with MDALI.

They had festivals running for three years, from the first to the fourth of March, each year. In the second festival they included works from the rural areas, and as far north as Mozambique. Mozambican works sold more than Black South African ones, probably because the artists remained closer to their roots than South Africans. Not long after this the Government put pressure on him, and at some stage he was detained without trial for nine months. Eventually he settled in Britain in exile.

In Britain Phetho and some black South Africans started another band group by the name of 'Pula Arts' in 1978, and it was still active at the time of the interview. Pula Arts is based more or less on the same lines as Mihloti Black Theatre: drum ensemble with poems. Pula means rain, and symbolically it means good harvest. It is also a form of salutation (among the Tswana people).

### 9.1.4. Douglas Mantshontsho

Douglas Mantshontsho is a South African political activist, born in the Transkei South Africa. He was in his fifties when I interviewed him (April 1988), and was based in London. He became active in politics in the sixties and was based in East London. He was arrested in 1962 for furthering the activities of PAC, and was sent to Fort Glamorgan jail known as kwa-Nongqongqo.

In jail he witnessed for the first time toyi-toyi performed by the prisoners, although it was not called toyi-toyi then (see 4.5.1. for the meaning). He came out of prison when charges against him and his colleagues were dropped. In 1963 he was rearrested with his friends because of the statement issued by the acting PAC president, Potlako Lebalo, about the attack by Poqo (PAC military wing). He was rearrested in 1963 and was one of the accused who were released in August 1963 as charges against them were dropped for the second time.

He left for Swaziland, running away from further harassments by the Government. From Swaziland he went to Tanzania and was sent to Botswana to further the activities of the Pan-Africanist Congress. While in Botswana he was again called to Tanzania, and was a leading member of the PAC central committee. From Tanzania he went to London to study, and he was on his PhD programme at Crenfield Institute of Technology when I interviewed him.

### 9.1.5. Nyembezi Mzotane

Mzotane is another political activist, and was based in London representing PAC at the time I interviewed him. He was also born in the Transkei and was operating in East London before he was arrested in 1962, accused of furthering the activities of PAC. In February 1963 charges against him were withdrawn, but after the PAC acting president, Potlako Leballo, issued a statement in Lesotho that Poqo (PAC military wing) would attack the Government they (Mzotane and his colleagues) were rearrested in March. He went to jail at kwa-Nongqonggo (Fort Glamorgan) jail in East London. In August some of his friends were released but he and others remained in jail. In 1964 they were sent to Robben Island and served for three years.

He came out of jail in 1967 after serving his term in Robben Island, and stayed in South Africa until 1982 when he left for Tanzania via Lesotho. From Tanzania he was sent to Botswana to represent PAC in 1984, and from Botswana he was sent to London in 1987. He was in London as an acting PAC chief representative when I had an interview with him. He was in his fifties when I talked to him.

### 9.1.6. Pitika Ntuli

Pitika is a South African Pan-Africanist cultural activist based in London, and a member of Janako Arts (a group of political artists from all over the world performing around London). He became a performer through repartee. He became aware of his talents at secondary school as he acted in a number of plays. Poverty was the reason for him to become involved in political performing arts, as he loathed being surrounded by rich white people.

He stayed in Swaziland for some time, and he once went to America to further his studies. After completion he came to London to contribute in the struggle. I had an interview with him at Janako Arts Centre on the 15th April, 1988. He was in his forties at the time I interviewed him. In London they were conducting workshops, teaching people African performing arts. They also attended a number of seminars educating

people about the situation in South Africa, and raising the consciousness of those who know about the situation. It was at such conferences that he would contribute by composing and performing something arising out of the same discussion.

### 9.1.7. Mandla Langa

Mandla Langa is another South African cultural activist in exile in London. He is a member of Arekopaneng cultural organisation (a platform for the South African cultural workers in Britain 'to reflect or portray their own reality', and involves many components of art). He had read a number of poems with this group. He was studying a course in Periodical Journalism at London College of Printing when I talked to him on the 10th of December 1988.

Before he left South Africa he was working with the Black Consciousness Student Movement, South African Student Organisation (SASO) in particular. He is a writer and had written two poems which were published in different anthologies. He had also written a novel called Tenderness of Blood, published by Zimbabwe Publishing House which came out in 1987. He had helped in the editing of a cultural journal called The Shaka.

### 9.1.8. Irungu Houghton

Irungu was from Kenya but studied and lived in London. He was one of those students who know more about South African events than many South African students. He kept track of almost everything that was happening in South Africa. He was a History student, and sometimes he would help South African Students to find information about South Africa. He was in his twenties when I interviewed him, and that was between 1987 and 1988. We had many discussions with him, as he (like myself) was studying at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) between 1985 and 1988.

He was a member of All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) which was based in London and has chapters in Africa and in America. It is a Pan-Africanist organisation concentrating on the liberation of Africa and the promotion of Socialism. It also supports the struggles of other countries that are not yet free. He was also a member of the Black Action for the Liberation of Southern Africa (BALSA). This organisation is also based in London, and is a support group.

### 9.1.9. Thabo Pholwana

Thabo is another South African political performing artist who left the country in 1985 during the 1980s uprisings. He was in Aachen, Germany when I interviewed him in March 1987. He was in his early twenties when I interviewed him. He became a political artist because of police brutality against the African people, as he could not voice his objections overtly.

In Germany they were performing in cities like Hamburg with other artists like Sipho Maleka and Dumisani Mabaso. Their band was called Thato-Phakathi (Three artists delivering poems 'to the hearts of the people'), and it was mainly African drums and poetry readings. They added instrumental music to get the Germans' attention, as they sensed less response from them as they did not understand English. They claim that they do not perform to entertain but to raise consciousness.

# 10. APPENDIX II: FREEDOM AND LIBERATION SONGS
(the language is Xhosa unless stated otherwise)

## 10.1. ANC (NATIONAL) FREEDOM SONGS

### 10.1.1. GENERAL FREEDOM SONGS

#### 10.1.1.1. Unzima lo mthwalo (This load is heavy)

| | |
|---|---|
| Unzima lo mthwalo | This load is heavy |
| Ufuna simanyane (2) | It needs unity |
| Asikhathali noba s'yabotshwa | Arrests do not scare us |
| Sizimisel' inkululeko (2) | We want freedom |

#### 10.1.1.2. Thina sizwe

| | |
|---|---|
| Thina sizwe esimnyama | We the black nation |
| Sikhalela izwe lethu | We are crying for our land |
| Elathathwa ngabamhlophe | Which was taken by the Whites |
| Mabawuyeke umhlaba wethu | Let go of our land |

#### 10.1.1.3. Nants' indond' emnyama

| | |
|---|---|
| Nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha | Here comes a black man Verwoerd |
| Nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha (2) | Here comes a black man Verwoerd |
| Bhasobha nants' indod' emnyama Belevutha | Beware of him Verwoerd |
| Bhasobha nants' indod' emnyama Velevutha | Beware of him Verwoerd |

10.1.1.4. Bahleli bonke (They are all detained)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bahlelili bonke etilongweni | They are all detained in jail |
| Bahleli bonke kwa-Nonggongqo | They are all in Fort Glamorgan |
| | |
| Nanku, nanku, nank' uSobukwe | Here is Sobukwe |
| Nanku, nanku, etilongweni | Here he is, in jail |
| Nanku, nanku, nank' uLutuli | Here is Lutuli |
| Nanku, nanku, etilongweni | Here he is, in jail |
| Nanku, nanku, nank' uMandela | Here is Mandela |
| Nanku, nanku, etilongweni | Here he is, in jail |
| | |
| Yhi! yhi! yhi! yhi halala | |
| Yhi! yhi! uzothen' uyotheni | What has he done? |

10.1.2. ANC (NATIONAL) ADAPTED FREEDOM SONGS (FROM RELIGIOUS HYMNS)

ORIGINAL

10.1.2.1. (a) Jerusalem ikhaya lam

| | |
|---|---|
| Jerusalem ikhaya lam | Jerusalem my home |
| Endilithandayo | Which I love |
| Wofezwa nin' umzamo wam | When will my effort be accomplished |
| Kuze ndikhululeke | So that I can be free |

ADAPTED

10.1.2.1. (b) South Africa ikhaya lam (South Africa my home)

| | |
|---|---|
| South Africa ikhaya lam | South Africa is my home |
| Endilithandayo (2) | Which I love most |
| Ndizawulwel' umhlaba wam | And I will fight for my land |
| Uze ukhululeke (2) | Until it is free |

ORIGINAL

10.1.2.2. (a) Somlandela

| | |
|---|---|
| Somlandela, somlandel' uYesu | We will follow Jesus |
| Somlandela yonke imihla | We will follow him everyday |
| Somlandela, somlandel' uYesu | We will follow Jesus |
| Noba uyaphina somlandela | Everywhere we will follow him |

ADAPTED

10.1.2.2. (b) Somlandela (We will follow him)

| | |
|---|---|
| Somlandela, somlandel' uLuthuli | We shall follow Luthuli |
| Somlandela yonke imihla | We shall follow him everyday |
| Somlandela, somlandel' uLuthuli | We shall follow Luthuli |
| Noba uyaphina somlandela | Wherever he goes we shall follow him. |

ORIGINAL

10.1.2.3. (a) Yivani

| | |
|---|---|
| Yivani ezindaba | Listen to the news |
| Zintlanga zalomhlaba! | Nations of this earth |
| Yivani, boni, nonke, | Listen all you people/sinners |
| Ezindaweni zonke | In all places |

ADAPTED

10.1.2.3. (b) Joyinani (Join)

| | |
|---|---|
| Joyinani, Joyinani madoda | Join, join men |
| Lixesha lenu | This is your time (to join) |
| Vukani, vukani madoda | Wake up, wake up men |
| Lixesha lenu | This is your time (to wake up) |

ORIGINAL

10.1.2.4. (a) Ndimthanda uMkhululi wam (I love my saviour)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ndimthanda uMkhululi wam | I love my saviour |
| Ngokuba engumhlobo wam | Because he is my friend |
| Wandenzela uxolo lwam | He makes peace for me |
| Phakathi kwam noTixo wam | Between me and my God |

ADAPTED

10.1.2.4. (b) Senzeni na

| | |
|---|---|
| Senzeni na, senzeni na? (4x) | What have we done? |
| AmaBhulu azizinja | Boers are dogs |
| Ayakufa ezizinja (2x) | They will die like dogs |

10.1.3. ANC (ALLIANCE) LIBERATION SONGS

10.1.3.1. Hamba kahle Mkhonto

| | |
|---|---|
| Hamba | Go well |
| Hamba kahle mkhonto | Go well spear |
| We mkhonto | Oh! Spear |
| Mkhonto we Sizwe | Spear of the Nation |

| | |
|---|---|
| Thina | We |
| Thina bant' bomkhonto siz'misele | We the people of spear are determinded |
| Ukuwabulala amabhulu | To kill the Boers |

## 10.1.4. ORIGINAL AND ADAPTED RELIGIOUS HYMNS

### ORIGINAL

#### 10.1.4.1. (a) Masibulele kuYesu

| | |
|---|---|
| Masibulele kuYesu | Let us praise Jesus |
| Ngokuba wasifela | Because he died for us |
| Wasenzela izibele | He was kind to us |
| Ngokusifela kwakhe | For, he died for us |
| | |
| Taru Bawo | Dear God |
| Yiba nofefe kuthi | Have mercy on us |
| Taru Bawo | Dear God |
| Yiba nofefekuthi | Have mercy on us |

### ADAPTED

#### 10.1.4.1. (b) Mandela

| | |
|---|---|
| Rolihlahla Mandela | [Rolihlahla Mandela |
| Freedom is in your hands | Inkululekw' isezandleni zakho |
| Show us the way to freedom | Sibonise indlel' ey' enkululekweni |
| In this land of Africa. | Kweli lizwe las' eAfrika. |
| | |
| Mandela Rolihlahla | Mandela Rolihlahla |
| Freedom is in your hands | Inkululekw' isezandleni zakho |
| All we say AWAY WITH SLAVERY | Sithi mabuphel' ubukhoboka |
| In our land of Africa | Kweli lizwe lethu lase Afrika] |

## 10.1.5. ORIGINAL AMAGWIJO AND ADAPTED FREEDOM SONGS

### ORIGINAL

#### 10.1.5.1. (a) Unozakuzaku (Agent)

| | |
|---|---|
| UMatsatse | Matsatse |
| Hey' uyeza | Is coming |
| Hey' uyez' angenyan' | He is really comming |
| Hey' uyez' uzunozakuzak' uyez' angenyan' | The broker is really comming |

### ADAPTED

#### 10.1.5.1. (b) Uph' Mandela

| | |
|---|---|
| Uph' uMandela? | Where is Mandela? |
| Nankw' esapha | He is by the corner |
| Nankw' esaph' akanatyala | He is not guilty |
| Mkhulul' eVorster' kanatyal' | Release him Vorster, he is not guilty |

### ORIGINAL

#### 10.1.5.2. (a) Ubhokil' umzabalazo (There is too much struggle)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ubhokil' umzabalazo | There is too much struggle |
| Amany' amadod' ayazobalaza (2) | Other men are struggling |

ADAPTED

10.1.5.2. (b) Masizabalazo (Let us join the struggle)

| | |
|---|---|
| Woza s'yambe tshomi yam | Let us be involved (in the struggle) |
| Amany' amadod' ayazabalaza | Other men are involved (in the struggle) |

10.1.6. FREEDOM SONGS ADAPTED FROM IZITIBILI (SOUNDS/MARGINAL SONGS)

10.1.6.1. E Rile (Sotho language)

| | |
|---|---|
| E rile ba boele hae | Freedom fighters on their return home |
| Ba tiholhoga Mozambique | They descended in Mozambique |
| Ba nyolohela Zimbabwe | Proceeded up to Zimbabwe |
| Ma boeru a ro betsi | They found Boers asleep |
| | |
| Bazooka ya bolaya (7) | Bazooka killed |
| Bazooka ya bolaya motho | Bazooka killed somebody |
| | |
| Umkhont' uzobulala (7) | The Spear will kill |
| Umkhont' uzobulal' uBotha! | The Spear will kill Botha! |

10.1.6.2. Az' b'uphin' UTambo

| | |
|---|---|
| Az'b'uphin' uTambo, phin' uTambo | I wonder where Tambo is |
| 'Phin' uTambo kulomzabalazo (2x) | In the struggle |
| | |
| Ngas' khes' phumelele, 'phumelele | We wish to win |
| 'Phumelele kulomzabalazo (2x) | In the struggle |

10.1.6.3. Sasikwenze ntoni

| | |
|---|---|
| Sasikwenze ntoni Botha | What have we done to you?, to deserve this |
| Sasikwenze ntoni Botha (2) | What have we done? |
| Kodwa 's'khathal' iBotha | Anyway, we do not care Botha |
| Kodwa 's'khathal' iBotha (2) | Anyway, we do not care Botha |

10.1.6.4. Iyoo! wawa uBotha

| | |
|---|---|
| Iyoo! wawa uBotha! | Hurrah! Down falls Botha, |
| Iyoo! wawa uBotha! (2) | Hurrah! Down falls Botha, |
| S'khokhele s'khokhele Tambo | Lead us Tambo |
| S'khokhele s'khokhele Tambo | Lead us Tambo |

10.1.6.5. Oliver Tambo

| | |
|---|---|
| Oliver Tambo thetha noBoth' asayinel' imfazwe | Oliver Tambo speak to Botha to declare war |
| Azonqob' umntomnyama | For black person to defeat |
| Uzonqob' umntomnyama | Black person will defeat |
| uzonqoba nge A K | By AK-47 |

## 10.2. PAC LIBERATION SONGS

### 10.2.1. ORIGINAL SONGS

#### 10.2.1.1. Amagerila Guerrillas (Zulu)

| | |
|---|---|
| Amagerila | Guerrillas |
| Ngabanini belizwe | Are the owners of the land |
| Bazolwel' inkululeko | They will fight for freedom |
| | |
| Sobiza sithi | We start with |
| Nyerer' eTanzaniya | Nyerere in Tanzania |
| Kaunda Zambia | Kaunda in Zambia |
| Sobukwe Azania | Sobukwe in Azania |
| Bazolwel' inkululeko | They will fight for freedom |

### 10.2.2. ORIGINAL AND ADAPTED AMAGWIJO (TRADITIONAL SONGS)

ORIGINAL

#### 10.2.2.1. (a) Wajikelez' umzi (You're surrounding a home)

| | |
|---|---|
| He Madala | Hey! old man |
| Wajikelez' umzi wenyindoda | You're surrounding another man's home |
| Owakho | What about yours |
| Owakh' uwushiya nabani | Why did you leave yours |

ADAPTED

#### 10.2.2.1. (b) Mabhulu athath' umhlba (Boers have taken the land)

| | |
|---|---|
| AmaBhulu/Songena/Sizowulanda | Boers/We will enter/we will repossess |
| MaBhulu athath' umhlaba wethu | Boers have taken our land |
| Owabo? | What about theirs? |
| Owabo bawushiye nabani? | Why did they leave their own? |

ORIGINAL

10.2.2.2. (a) Wuyeni! watsho lo mfana (Hark! said the man)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wuye, Wuye, Wuyeni na! | Hark, hark, hark! |
| Wuye Wuyeni na watsho lo mfana | Hark! said the man |
| Hlanganani ma-Africa (2x) | Come together Africans |
| | |
| Wuye, Wuye, Wuye, Wuye, Wuyeni na | Hark, hark, hark! |
| Watsho lo mfana (2x) | Said the man |

ADAPTED

10.2.2.2. (b) Wuyeni Dibanani ma-Afrika (Unite Africans)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wuye, Wuye, Wuyeni na | Listen, listen, listen |
| Watsh' uSobukwe | Said, Sobukwe |
| Dibanani ma-Afrika (2x) | Unite Africans |
| | |
| Wuye, Wuye, u-Vorst' unamanyala | Listen Vorster has dirty tricks |
| Watsho lo mfana u-Vorst' uyadelela | Said this man (Sobukwe) that Vorster is cheeky |

ORIGINAL

10.2.2.3. (a) Uyingonyama na? (Are you a lion?)

| | |
|---|---|
| Uyingonyama na? | Are you a lion? |
| Uyingonyama ngobulal' ehlathini (2x) | Are you a lion, that you sleep in the forest |
| | |
| Uyazazela | The reason is known to you |
| Uyazazela ngobulal' ehlathini (2x) | The reason is known to you for sleeping in the forest |

ADAPTED

10.2.2.3. (b) Uyigerila na? (Are you a guerrilla?)

| | |
|---|---|
| Uyigerila na? | Are you a guerrilla? |
| Uyigerila ngobulal' ehlathini? (2x) | Are you a guerrilla, because you sleep in the forest? |
| Sizobashaya nge bazooka | We will shoot him with bazooka |
| Sizobashaya nge bazooka | We will shoot them with bazooka |
| Ngobulal' ehlathini | Because you sleep in the forest |

ORIGINAL

10.2.2.4. (a) Akho nkom' engazal' umntu (No cow can mother a person)

| | |
|---|---|
| Akho nkom' ngazal' umntu (3) | No cow can mother a person |
| Hayeye, Hayeye | No no no, no no no |
| Haya manga sitsho thina | Stop lying |
| Akho nkom' engazal' umntu | No cow can mother a person |

ADAPTED

10.2.2.4. (b) Akho Bhulu lingamphath' umntu (No Boer can rule a person)

| | |
|---|---|
| Akho Bhulu lingamphath' umntu | No Boer can rule an 'African' |
| Hayeye, hayeye | No no no, no no no |
| Haya manga, sitsho thina | Stop lying |
| Akho Bhulu lingamphath' umntu | No Boer can rule an 'African' |

ORIGINAL

10.2.2.5. (a) Wayibiza lenqawe (You have asked for a pipe)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wayibiza lenqawe | You have asked for a pipe |
| Zinto zomahlalela | You idler |
| Singabahambi | We are visitors |
| Wayibiza le nqawe | You have asked for a pipe |

ADAPTED

10.2.2.5. (b) Wayetshilo uSobukwe (So said Sobukwe)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wayetshilo uSobukwe | So said Sobukwe |
| Wath' asazani sakwazan' entabeni | That we will know one another by the mountains |
| Maqhaw' as' eAfrika | Heroes of Africa |
| Eli dabi lifuna simanyane | The struggle warrants unity |

10.2.3. OTHER ADAPTED FREEDOM SONGS FROM AMAGWIJO (Traditional songs)

10.2.3.1. Songena e Azania (We will get into Azania)

| | |
|---|---|
| Songena, songen' eAzania | We will get into Azania |
| Sizongena | We will get |
| Songen' eAzania | We will get into Azania |
| Sizongena | We will get |
| E Azania ngebazooka | Carrying bazooka machine guns |
| Sizongen' eAzania ngebazooka | We will get there with machine guns |
| | |
| Bahambe ooLe Grange | Le Grange and co. will go too |
| Bazohamba | They will go |

| | |
|---|---|
| Bahambe, bahambe oPik Botha | Pik Botha and co. will go |
| Bazohamba | They will go |
| Angena, angen' amagerila | Guerrillas will get in |
| Azongena | They will get in |
| Songena sihamba noPokela | Pokela will be leading |
| Sizongena | We will get in |
| Bahambe ooSebe | Sebe and co. will go |
| Bazohamba | They will go |
| Bahamb' oButhelezi | Buthelezi and co. too, will go |
| Bahambe oMpepu | Mpepu and co. will also go |
| Bazohamba | They will go |
| Bahambe oPatudi | Patudi and co. will go |
| Songena sihamba noSabelo | Sabelo will be leading |
| Sizongena | We will get in |
| Hee! Sabelo sikhokhele | Hey! Sabelo lead us |

10.2.3.2. Ityala lisemaBhulwin (Boers are guilty)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ityala lisemaBhulwini weduna/APLA | Boers are guilty male (comrade)/APLA |
| Asaz' ababuyay' | We wonder why some retreat, |
| Asaz' abosala khona | And others remain behind? |
| | (and not take up arms) |

10.2.3.3. Imbi la ndawo (That place is bad)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sithi buyani s'yaphela | Come back we are dying |
| Imbi la ndawo ngakumbi landaw' enabo | The place they occupy is bad |
| Imbi la ndawo | It is bad |
| Inesigebenga iBhulu | It has a giant Boer |

| | |
|---|---|
| Imbi la ndawo ngakumbi landaw' enabo | The place they occupy is bad |
| Imbi la ndawo | It is bad |
| Inesilond' sisemanzini | It has wound in water |
| Imbi landawo ngakumbi la ndaw' enabo | The place they occupy is bad |
| Imbi landawo | It is bad |

10.2.3.4. Eshe Ntsizwa (Oh man) (Zulu language)

| | |
|---|---|
| Eshe ntsizwa eshe! | Oh man! |
| Awu! eshe ntsizwa | Hey oh man! |
| Namhlanje sobadubula thina | Today we will kill them |
| Uyohlinz' azadinw' udokotela | And the doctor will operate till he gets tired |
| Yaphel' idithente | Detente is over/broke down |
| Waf' uVorster | Vorster died |
| Yakhal' irashasha | There sounds the machine gun |
| Watsh' umbhobho | There shoots the gun |

10.2.3.5. Thina be-APLA siyahamba

| | |
|---|---|
| Siyahamba, siyahamba | We are going |
| Ho ha | |
| Thabathan' imithwalo | Take your luggages |
| Siyahamba | We are going |
| Pula inile | The rain has fallen |
| Nkomo zityebile | Cattle are fat |

## 10.2.4. ORIGINAL AND ADAPTED RELIGIOUS HYMNS

### ORIGINAL

10.2.4.1. (a) Lizalise idinga lakho (Fulfil thy promise)

| | |
|---|---|
| Lizalis' isidinga lakho | Fulfil thy promise |
| Tixo nkosi yenyaniso | God of the truth |
| Zonk' intlanga zalo mhlaba | And all the nations of this world |
| Mazizuze usindiso | Would be saved |

### ADAPTED

10.2.4.1. (b) Zibotshiwe (They are arrested)

| | |
|---|---|
| Zibotshiwe, zibotshiwe (2x) | They are arrested |
| Inkokheli zethu zibotshiwe (2x) | Our leaders are arrested |
| Mazilandwe, mazilandwe (2x) | Let us get them back |
| Inkokheli zethu mazilandwe (2x) | Our leaders must be brought back |
| Lala kahle, lala kahle | Rest in peace |
| Qawe lamaqawe mfo ka-Siwisa | Hero of heroes son of Siwisa |
| Qawe lamaqawe mfo ka-Ngcobo | Hero of heroes son of Ngcobo |
| Qawe lamaqawe mfo ka-Ngubombi | Hero of heroes son of Ngubombi |
| Sikhokhele, sikhokhele (2x) | Lead us, lead us |
| Qawe lamaqawe mfo ka Sobukwe (2x) | Hero of heroes son of Sobukwe |

ORIGINAL

10.2.4.2. (a) Se teng seliba (There is a fountain) (from Sotho language)

| | |
|---|---|
| Se teng setiba sa mali | There is a fountain of blood |
| Alitareng ea topollo | In the altar of freedom |
| ... | ... |

ADAPTED

10.2.4.2. (b) Sera sa motho ke pasa (The enemy of a person is the pass)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sera sa motho ke pasa (6x) | The enemy of a person is the pass |
| A e fediswe yona pasa (6x) | Away with the passes |
| Tshela Limpopo Sobukwe (6x) | Cross the Limpopo (river) Sobukwe |
| Dumedisa Nkwame Nkrumah (6x) | Greet Nkwame Nkrumah |
| United states of Africa (6x) | |
| Sikhokhele we Sobukwe (6x) | Lead us Sobukwe |

ORIGINAL

10.2.4.3. (a) Ndikhokhele oYehova [Lead me Oh Jehovah

| | |
|---|---|
| Ndikhokhele oYehova | Lead me oh Jehovah |
| Ndingumhambi nkosi yam | I am a passer by |
| Unamandla andinawo | You have the strength which I don't have |
| Unobuthathaka ndim | I am weak |
| O! Msindisi, O! Msindisi (6x) | Oh! Christ the saviour |
| Nguwe olikhaka lami | You are my shield] |

ADAPTED

10.2.4.3. (b) Thel' umoya (Shower the spirit)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thel' umoya thel' umoya | [Shower the spirit (holy ghost/soul) |
| Thel' umoya Lembede (2x) | Shower the spirit Lembede |
| Sibotshiwe, sibotshiwe | We are arrested (oppressed) |
| Siyasindwa sifun' inkululeko | We are oppressed we want freedom |
| Sikhokhele, sikhokhele | Lead us, lead us |
| Sikhokhele Sobukwe (2x) | Lead us Sobukwe |
| Sibotshiwe... | We are arrested (oppressed)... |
| Sicebise, sicebise | Advise us, advise us |
| Sicebise Nkrumah | Advise us Nkrumah |
| Sibotshiwe... | We are arrested (oppressed) |
| Thel' umoya, thel' umoya | Shower the spirit |
| Thel' umoya Lumumba | Shower the spirit Lumumba |
| Sibotshiwe... | we are arrested (oppressed) |

ORIGINAL

10.2.4.4. (a) Wakrazulwa (You have been rendered open)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wakrazulwa ngenxa yam | You have been rendered open |
| Liwa laphakade | Everlasting Rock |
| Kuze ndizifihle kuwe | So that I can hide in you |
| Nxeba lika Yesu | Christ's wound |

ADAPTED

10.2.4.4. (b) Yeyani na le ntshukumo? (What is happening)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yeyani na le ntshukumo | What is this action for? |

| | |
|---|---|
| Kubacinezeli | By the oppressors |
| Kungenxa kaMangaliso | It is because of Mangaliso |
| Inkokheli yethu | Our leader |
| Ngokufuna izwe lethu kubacindezeli | for demanding our land from the oppressors |
| Sobukwe khaw' sikhokhele | Sobukwe lead us |
| Kulo msebenz' siwuphetheyo | In this work which we are busy with |
| Khon' ukuz' uphumelele | So that we succeed |
| Ngokuthanda kwethu | On our own |
| Bambulel' unyana womntu | They have killed somebody's son |
| Ngenxa yelungelo | Because of the right |
| Lokufuna izwe lethu | To demand our land |
| Kubacindezeli | From the oppressors |

ORIGINAL

10.2.4.5. (a) Ndinga ndingema nabo (I wish I can be with them)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ndinga nam ndingema nabo | [I wish I can be with them |
| abo bantu abangcwele | The holy (saved) people |
| Ndidumis' inkosi yam | And praise the lord |
| Leyo mvana yasifelayo | Jesus who died for us] |

ADAPTED

10.2.4.5. (b) Ndinga Ndinga namaAfrika (I wish to be with Africans)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ndinga nam ndingema nawo | [I wish I could be with them |
| Lo maAfrika ase Robben Island | The Africans in Robben Island |
| Sidumise USobukwe | And praise Sobukwe |
| Leyo nkokheli yamaAfrika | The leader of the Africans] |

ORIGINAL

10.2.4.6. (a) Uyeza uyeza umgwebi (Jesus is coming)

| | |
|---|---|
| Uyeza, uyeza umgwebi omkhulu; | [Jesus is coming |
| Abantu boyibon' inkosi yezulu; | People will see the lord |
| Bovuswa ngabanye kwasemangcwabeni, | They will be risen in the graves |
| Babonakaliswe kwase kukhayeni. | And be shown publicly] |

ADAPTED

10.2.4.6. (b) Ndiyasesaba isibindi (O! such a great courage)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ndiyasesaba isibindi | [I am afraid of such a great courage |
| Salo mfana ka Sobukwe | From Sobukwe |
| Ndiyohamba ndingene enkululekweni | I will gain freedom |
| U-Velevutha no Vorstele | Verwoerd and Vorster |
| Bayosabel' eBritane | Will seek refuge in Britain] |

ORIGINAL

10.2.4.7. (a) Vuthelani ixilongo (Blow the trumpet)

| | |
|---|---|
| Vuthelani ixilongo | [Blow the trumpet |
| Nina bantu Bakhe | People of Him |
| Ixilongo lezwi lakhe | the trumpet of His word |
| Lihlokomiseni | Cause to sound] |

10.2.4.7. (b) Letsang phala (Blow the horn (from Sotho/Tswana)

| | |
|---|---|
| Letsang phala ya tokoloho | [Blow the horn of freedom |
| Ya lefatseng lohle | For the whole world |
| Tsoseng batjha le maqeku | Wake up the youth and the elders |
| Ba bine tokoloho | To sing freedom |
| | |
| PAC tshepo ya rona | PAC is our hope |
| S' tjhaba sa Afrika | The African nation |
| Re etshepe re ekqolwe | We should trust, believe |
| Mme re elatele | And follow it |
| | |
| Uyalila umAfrika | An African is crying |
| Ulilela ntoni na | Why is he/she crying |
| Bawuthathil' umhlaba wethu | They have taken our land |
| Bona abelungu | The White people |
| | |
| Ezozizwe ezintsundu | The Black Nations |
| Mazimazi zonke | Should know him |
| Zimkhangele uSobukwe | They should behold Sobukwe |
| Zimlandele yena | And follow him |

10.2.5. OTHER FREEDOM SONGS ADAPTED FROM RELIGIOUS HYMNS

10.2.5.1. Ngalo nyaka ka 1960 (In the year 1960)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ngalo nyaka ka 1960 | [In the year 1960 |
| Sathabath' amanyathelo | We took drastic measures |
| Sahambela kwantsasana | And went to the police station |
| Sasifuna ukubotshwa | We wanted to be arrested |
| Amapasi sawashiya nabafazi emakhaya | We left the passes with women at home |
| Impendulo zimbumbulu | The response was the bullets |
| Impendulo yakukufa | We were shot to die |

| | |
|---|---|
| Sadutyulwa e Sharpeville | We were shot at Sharpeville |
| Sadutyulwa nakwalanga | We were shot in Langa |
| Elo gazi lamaAfrika | The African blood |
| Siyabuza layaphi na | Where is it? |
| Sinombuzo wee Velevutha | Answer the question Verwoerd |
| Sinombuzo wee Vostele | Answer the question Vorster |
| | |
| Sikhokhele Mangaliso | Lead us Mangaliso |
| Sikhokhele Sobukwe | Lead us Sobukwe |
| Sitsho njalo wee Potlako | And you too Potlako |
| Sitsho njalo wee Lebalo | And you too Lebalo |

10.2.5.2. Tshollela moya (Instil PAC spirit) (Sotho/Tswana)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tshollele moya wa PAC | Instil PAC spirit |
| Tshollela moya wa PAC | Instil PAC spirit |
| Di pilong tsa ma Afrika | In the hearts of the Africans |
| Tshollela moya wa PAC | Instil PAC spirit |

10.2.5.3. Somlandela uSobukwe (We will follow Sobukwe)

| | |
|---|---|
| Kubuhlungu kulusizi | It is painful and sorrowful |
| Kuye umntu ongaziyo | To the ignorant person |
| Somlandela, uSobukwe | We will follow Sobukwe |
| Somlandela ngendimbane | We will follow in multitudes |

## 10.2.6. ORIGINAL AND ADAPTED IZITIBILI/SOUNDS (MARGINAL SONGS)

### ORIGINAL

10.2.6.1. (a) Thabazimbi

| | |
|---|---|
| Thabazimbi far away (4x) | Thabazimbi is far away |
| Sofika nini far away?(4x) | When will we reach there? |

### ADAPTED

10.2.6.1. (b) Sobukwe tsamaya (Sobukwe go) (from Sotho/Tswana)

| | |
|---|---|
| Sobukwe | [Sobukwe |
| Sobukwe, Sobukwe (2x) | Sobukwe, Sobukwe |
| Tsamaya | Go |
| Kwa pele | Forward |
| O lwanele | Fight |
| Tokoloho, tokoloho | For freedom |
| | |
| Le tla e fumana | We will gain it |
| Tokoloho, tokoloho (4x) | Freedom |
| Ya lefatshe lena | Of this land |
| La Afrika | Of Africa |
| | |
| Re u tlwile | We have heard |
| Yo nna, yo nna | Shrieks, shrieks |
| Mokgosi | The cry |
| | |
| Yo nna, yo nna | Shrieks, shrieks |
| Wa selelo | Of the tears |
| Yo nna, yo nna | Shrieks, shrieks |
| Sa Sharpeville | Of Sharpeville |
| Yo nna, yo nna | Shrieks, shrieks |

| | |
|---|---|
| Badimo | Gods |
| Ba Afrika (2x) | Of Africa |
| Ye mang | Stand up |
| Ka dinawo, ka dinawo | With your feet |
| Le lwanele | And fight |
| Tokoloho, tokoloho | For freedom |
| | |
| Le tla e fumana | We will gain it |
| Tokoloho, tokoloho (3x) | Freedom, freedom |
| Ya lefatshe lena | Of this land |
| La Afrika, la Afrika | Of Africa |

ORIGINAL

10.2.6.2. (a) Boph' umthwalo (Tighten the load)

| | |
|---|---|
| Boph' umthwalo | [Tighten the load |
| Boph' umthwalo sigoduke (2x) | Tighten the load and go home |
| | |
| Ilizwe lifile maye ma | The nation is dying (destroyed) |
| Ilizwe lifile | The nation is dying |
| Izwe lifile sigoduke | The nation is dying, let's go home] |

ADAPTED

10.2.6.2. (b) Thabath' umthwalo (Take the load)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thabath' umthwalo | [Take your load |
| Thabath' umthwalo sigoduke | Take your load and go home |
| | |
| Izwe lifile | The nation is dying |
| Izwe lifile, izwe lifile sigoduke | The nation is dying let's go home |
| Botata nomama bobhuti nosisi | Fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters |
| Izwe lifile sigoduke | The nation is dying let's go home] |

ORIGINAL

10.2.6.3. (a) Thina singumlil' ovuthayio (We are the burning fire)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thina singu | [We are |
| Thina singumlil' ovuthayo | We are the burning fire |
| Watsha, watsha, watsha (2x) | You will burn |
| | |
| Ubobhasobha | Be careful |
| Watsha, watsha | You will burn |
| Watsha, watsha, watsha | You will burn] |

10.2.6.3. (b) Vorster ungasithumeli ngesabotaji
(Vorster do not sabotage us)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wee Vostel ungasithumeli ngesabotaji | [Vorster do not sabotage us |
| Thina singumbuth' ovuthayo | We are a burning movement |
| | |
| U-Velevutha watsha | Verwoerd you are burning |
| U-Velevutha watsha | Verwoerd you are burning |
| Bhasobha lumka | Be careful |
| Watsha, watsha, wavutha | You are burning] |

10.2.7. OTHER PAC FREEDOM SONGS ADAPTED FROM IZITIBILI (SOUNDS)

10.2.7.1. Bonke laba bantu

| | |
|---|---|
| Bonke laba bantu | [All these people (white people) |
| Basithanda ngamehlo | Pretend to love us |
| Kodwa masingekho | In our absence |
| Bakhuluma ngathi (2x) | They speak (ill) of us |

| | |
|---|---|
| Wanqonqoza | We are knocking |
| Kuba babengatshukuthi | Whatever they do (like crushing) |
| U Poqo ungumbutho | Poqo is a Movement |
| Kuba babetheka | They are over powered |
| Ngamandla ka Sobukwe | By the Sobukwe's strength |
| Nguye yedw' impela | He is the only |
| Inkokheli yesizwe | Leader of the nation |
| Ama Saracen | All the saracens |
| Atshabalala onke | Were destroyed |
| Ladubul' iBhunu | The boer shot us |
| Lasiphosa sonke | And missed all of us |
| Wath' umuntu awu! | Somebody said hey! |
| Azi soba yini? | What is happening to us? |
| Uyimpong' uPoqo | Poqo is the best |
| Mbuz' emaBhulwini | Ask it from the Boers] |

10.2.7.2. Bolela (Give orders) (Sotho language)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bolela (3x) | [Give orders |
| Nako e ya tsamaya | Time is against us |
| | |
| Bo ntate Sobukwe | Father Sobukwe and others |
| Bolela nako e ya tsamaya | Give orders time is against us |
| | |
| Ba jwetse (3x) | Tell them |
| Nako e ya tsamaya | That time elapses |
| | |
| Bo ntate Sobukwe | Father Sobukwe and others |
| Bolela nako e ya tsamaya | Give orders time is up] |

10.2.7.3. He! lona masole (We soldiers) (Sotho language)

| | |
|---|---|
| He! lona masole | [Hey! you soldiers |
| Itukiseng (2x) | Prepare yourselves |

| | |
|---|---|
| Nkang dithebe le marumo | Take shields and spears |
| Le bahlabe lona masole | Stab them you soldiers |
| A Sobukwe | Of Sobukwe |

10.2.7.4. Isikhalo salabafana (Cry of the boys)

| | |
|---|---|
| Yibambeni yebafana | [Hold it boys |
| Yibambeni wee zinsizwa (2x) | Hold it men |
| | |
| Hay' isikhalo salabafana | The cry of the boys |
| Sisikhumbuza eSharpeville | Reminds me of Sharpeville (massacre) |
| Hay' isikhalo salabafana | The cry of the boys |
| Sisikhumbuza nakwaLanga (2x) | Reminds us of Langa (massacre) too] |

10.2.7.5. USobukw' ufun' amajoni (Sobukwe wants Soldiers)

| | |
|---|---|
| U Sobukw' ufun' amajoni | [Sobukwe wants soldiers |
| Amajoni ase Afrika | Soldiers of Africa |
| Umkhulu umkhul' umsebenzi | There is a great task |
| Weli lizwe lase Afrika (2x) | For the African nation |
| | |
| Azongen' azongen' amajoni | Soldiers will get in |
| Amajoni ase Afrika | Soldiers of Africa |
| Umkhulu umkhul' amsebenzi | There is a great task |
| Weli lizwe lase Afrika | For the African nation |

10.2.7.6. Thina isizw' esintsundu (We the 'dark' nation)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thina isizw' esintsundu | [We the black nation |
| Siyahlupheka | We are poor |
| Siyalila kuwe Sobukwe | We cry to you Sobukwe |
| Sith' izwelethu Afrika! (2x) | We say Africa for the Africans |

| | |
|---|---|
| Izwelethu! | Our country! (Africa!) |
| Sith' izwelethw' iAfrika | We say our country (for the Africans) |
| Siyalila kuwe Sobukwe | We cry to you Sobukwe |
| Sith' izwelethw' iAfrika! (2x) | We say our country (for the Africans) |

10.2.7.7. Siyahlupheka Pokela (We are poor Pokela)

| | |
|---|---|
| Siyahlupheka | We are poor |
| S'yahlupheka Pokela | We are poor Pokela |
| Sikhokhele | Lead us |
| Sikhokhele Pokela (2x) | Lead us Pokela |

| | |
|---|---|
| Viva we APLA | Long live APLA |
| Viva, viva APLA | Long live APLA |
| Viva APLA | Long live APLA |
| Viva APLA PAC | Long live APLA of PAC |

10.2.7.8. Thina silulutsha (We the youth)

| | |
|---|---|
| Thina silulutsha | [We the youth |
| Lwase Azania (2x) | Of Azania |
| Asoze sibulawe | We will never |
| NguVerwoerd sisebatsha (2x) | Be killed by Verwoerd, young as we are] |

10.2.7.9. Namhla sibuyayo (The day we come back)

| | |
|---|---|
| Namhla sibuyayo (3x) | [The day we come back |
| Kophalal' igazi | There will be bloodshed |

| | |
|---|---|
| Kophalal' igazi | There will be bloodshed |
| Koqutyulw' imbayi-mbayi | Guns will be used |
| Phezu kweentaba | On the top of the mountains |
| E Azania | Of Azania |
| | |
| Sofika litshona (3x) | We arrive at sun set |
| E Azania | In Azania |

10.2.7.10. John Vorster le Kruger (Sotho language)

| | |
|---|---|
| John Vorster le Kruger (3x) | John Vorster and Kruger |
| Ba bulaile ma Azania (3x) | Have killed the Azanians |
| | |
| Ba tshwanetsi ho bolaiwa (3x) | They deserve to die |
| Azania ke ya rona (3x) | Azania is ours |
| Hotla busa moAzania (3x) | An Azanian will rule |

10.2.7.11. Siyakhona

| | |
|---|---|
| Siyakhona le | We are getting there |
| Siyakhona le, khon' eAzania (2x) | We are getting to Azania |
| | |
| Sizomthin' uMatanzima? | What are we going to do to Matanzima? |
| Siyokumnyathela | We will step on him |
| Simphosel' emuva | And throw him back |
| Sithi phuma-phuma lapha | And say, go away! |
| | |
| Sizomthin' uButhelezi? | What are we going to do to Buthelezi? |
| Sizomthin' uMangope? | What are we going to do to Mangope? |

10.2.7.12. I-manifesto

| | |
|---|---|
| I manifesto | The manifesto |
| Thina sizoyilandela (2x) | We will follow it |
| | |
| We s'khokhele | Lead us |
| S' khokhekhele Pokela/Sobukwe (2x) | Lead us Pokela/Biko |

10.2.7.13. Siyaya ePitoli

| | |
|---|---|
| Ho siyaya ePitoli | We are going to Pretoria |
| Siyaya, siyaya, siyaya noba kunjani | We are going under any circumstances |

10.2.7.14. Wabethwa ngumbane uVorster (The lightning strikes Vorster)

| | |
|---|---|
| Wabethwa ngumbane uVorster | The lightning strikes Vorster |
| Kulo mathaf' aseAfrika | In the African plains |
| Wayeyok' utshutshisa amaAfrika | He was going to persecute Africans |
| | |
| Wathetha unyana ka Sobukwe | Sobukwe spoke |
| Kwangcangcazela abamhlophe (2x) | And the Whites trembled |
| Afrika lizwe labantw' abantsundu (2x) | Africa for the black people |
| | |
| Yimani sixhobe bakuthi | Let us take up arms good people |
| Izwe lemfazwe loxolelwa | Prepared to fight for the land |
| Afrika lizwe labantw' abantsundu | Africa for the black people |

## 10.2.8. FREEDOM SONGS ADAPTED FROM MAKWAYA

### 10.2.8.1. Sekulixesha (It's time)

| | |
|---|---|
| Baram baram baram barara-rera | |
| Wena Sobukwe khawuqokel' abantu ela | Sobukwe hoard people |
| Sekulixesha ngoku | Now it is time |
| Baram baram barara-rera | |
| Wena Sobukwe khawukhokhele abantu | Sobukwe lead the people |
| Sekulixesha ngoku | Now it is time |
| | |
| Izofika imini yenkululeko | Freedom day is coming |
| Lizophuma ilanga lempumelelo | The sun of success will rise |
| Wathetha wathetha uSobukwe | So he said, Sobukwe |
| Sekulixesha ngoku | That time has come |
| | |
| Bawo wethu wase Azania | Father of Azania |
| maliphàthwe kuhle | Hollowed be thy name |
| loni igama lakho | |
| Baphina ooMoshoeshoe? | Where is Moshoeshoe and others? |
| Baphina ooHintsa? | Where is Hintsa and others? |
| ... | ... |
| | |
| Phambili mawethu | Foward good people |
| Zeningabuyi mva | No turning back |
| Zeningayamkeli ingcinezelo | Do not accept oppression |
| Wathetha wathetse uSobukwe | So said, Sobukwe |
| Sekulixesha ngoku | Time has come |
| | |
| Iyoo impumelelo | Hey! success |
| Iyoo inkululeko | Hey! freedom |
| Wathetha wathetha uSobukwe | So said, Sobukwe |
| Sekulixesha ngoku | Time has come |

10.2.8.2. Amadolo (Knees)

| | |
|---|---|
| Amadolo am ayagexa | My knees are loose |
| Xa ndikhumbula ngelizwe lethu | When I remember (think of) our land |
| (Izwe lethu) | Our country |
| | |
| Sinje umoya ubuhlungu | Our souls (hearts) ache |
| Ngelizwe lethu | About our country |
| I Afrika izwelethu | Our country, Africa |
| | |
| Bawuphul' umoya wam abamhlophe | Whites have broken our souls (hearts) |
| Abasafuni nelizwe lethu | They are refusing with our land |
| | |
| Sinje umoy' ubuhlungu | Our souls (hearts) ache |
| I Afrika izwelethu | Our country, Africa |

10.2.8.3. Ngaphesheya (Across)

| | |
|---|---|
| Ngaphesheya komfula | Across the river |
| Kukw' ilizwe lokuphumla | There is a promised land |
| Sizolibona ngokuzimisela kwethu | We will get there through determination |
| Ngokubalis' imfundiso zethu | And told our stories |
| Zomzabalazo wethu | Of our struggle |
| Malikhal' ixilongo | When the trumpet sounds |
| Likhalela wena | For you |
| | |
| Sizoba simanyene sonke | We will all be united |
| Sozazi zonk' intshaba | We will know all enemies |
| Zabantu base Azania | Of the people of Azania |
| | |
| Ikhali kala kaya | |
| Namabuthw' eselindile | The regiment will be waiting |
| Sizolilwel' ilizwe lethu | We will fight for our land |
| Azania elo lizwe likude | Azania, the far away nation |
| Phesheya komfula | Across the river |

10.2.8.4. Abantwana be Afrika (Children of Africa)

| | |
|---|---|
| Abantwana be Afrika | Children of Africa |
| Bashiy' abazali | Have left their parents |
| Ngenxa yengcinezelo | Because of oppression |
| Behla benyuka ezintabeni | Going up and down the mountains |
| Kutsho izintsizwa zeAfrika | We are men of Africa |
| | |
| Ngubani na onesibindi | Who has the courage |
| Sokushiyana nabazali bakhe | Of leaving the parents behind |
| | |
| Masihambeni siye kwi PAM | Let us go to PAM |
| Sithi kuyo maAfrika | And say Africans |
| S'cel' uncedo, s'cel' uncedo | Please help us |

10.2.9. FREEDOM SONGS ADAPTED FROM AFRICANS-AMERICANS

10.2.9.1. Crossing the river (Zambezi)

Crossing the Zambezi, sooner in the morning
Crossing the Limpopo (river), sooner in the morning
Going to Azania

In that beautiful land on the far away place
There was once more freedom
In that beautiful land on the far away place
In the history the story is told

Come on people, come on children
Come on people let us fight
And fight till the end

I foresee danger, I foresee misery
(response)
No no no, we shall conquer through hardships

10.2.9.21 Mothopeng

| | |
|---|---|
| Bawo ngeny' imini | Father (Mothopeng) one day |
| Sofika kuwe | We will come to you |
| Sofik' endlwini yakh' | At your house |
| Sithi bawo sikhokhele (2x) | And ask you to lead us |
| | |
| Sofika nini na? | When will we come? |
| Sithi bawo sikhokhele | And ask you, father, to lead us |
| Ewe singama Azania | Yes, we are Azanians |
| | |
| Bawo sikhokhele | Lead us father |
| Ewe singama Azania | Yes, we are Azanians |
| Bawo sikhokhele | Lead us father |

10.2.9.3. Freedom fighter

We shall serve, we shall suffer, we shall sacrifice (4x)

Freedom fighter!
Forward ever, backwards never (2x)

Freedom fighter!
Forward to independent now
Tomorrow the united states of Africa (2x)

10.2.9.4. One more river to freedom

One river to freedom
There's one more river to cross (2x)

We'll carry our guns and hand grenades
There's one more river to cross (2x)

10.2.9.5. Let us join APLA

Let us join APLA
The revolutionary army
Brother, father, mother
let us walk to freedom
Let us march to freedom
We must fight and free Azania

10.2.10. FREEDOM SONGS ADAPTED FROM 'SCATHAMIYA GENRE

10.2.10.1. Bakithi (My people) (Zulu language)

| | |
|---|---|
| Bakithi nithule nje nithini? | [People don't you have feelings? |
| Saphel' isizwe, e Azania | People are dying in Azania |
| Siqedwa ngamaBhulu | Killed by the Boers |
| Thumelan' amabutho | Send the army (guerrillas) |
| Awe ke mfana | Oh yes man |
| Siphelile isizwe e Azania | The nation has been destroyed |
| Siqedwa ngamaBhulu | Killed by the Boers |
| | |
| Bakithi nithule nje nithini? | People don't you have feelings? |
| Nguban' ongathint' amabuth' | Who can provoke guerrillas? |
| Amabuth' anamandl' amabuth' | Guerrillas are powerful |
| | |
| Saphel' isizwe | The nation has been destroyed |
| E-Azania | In Azania |
| Woo thumelan' amabutho | Send guerrillas |
| Woo thumelan' i-APLA | Send APLA guerrillas |

Response

| | |
|---|---|
| Amabuth' anamandl' amabuth' | Guerrillas are powerful |

10.2.10.2. Aphi n' amaqhawe? (Where are the heroes?)

| | |
|---|---|
| Aphi na? | Where are they? |
| Amaqhawᵀ akithi | Our heroes |
| Aphi na? | Where are they |
| Amaqhqwᵀ akithᵀ eAfrika (2x) | The heroes of Africa |
| | |
| Kulo nyaka asazi so lontsha (3x) | This year we are launching |
| Asazᵀ bakithi | What about you |

10.2.11. OTHER PAC FREEDOM SONGS

10.2.11.1. Unite (by Zeph, Mothopeng)

Unite, unite all yee Africans unite
And rally to the banner of the African nation
Unite, unite sons and daughters of the soil
Destroy imperialism in all its forms (2x)

Promote, protect African personality
And create a giant monolithic state of Africa (2x)

Socialistic in content, democratic in form
A new African social order

Original in conception
Africanist in orientation

10.2.11.2. Bangakanani

| | |
|---|---|
| Bangakanani? | [How many are they? |
| Bangango Tshaka | As many as Tshaka's |
| Bangang' oboya benkom' | They as many as cattles' wool |
| Esay' gwaz' eNtelengwe | Which we slaughtered at Ntelengwe |
| | |
| Sobukwe | Sobukwe |
| Kwaqhum' isabham | There was fire from the guns |
| Lebalo | Lebalo |
| Esavutha | The burning gun |
| Mothopeng | Mothopeng |
| Uyawabon' amaBhulu ahlome kangak' | Do you see Boers are arming |
| Aqond' ukwenzani? | What do they want to do? |
| | |
| Esharpeville | In Sharpeville |
| Kwakhal' inkomo kwakhal' imbuzi | Cattle...and goats bleated |
| Yatsh' imizi | Houses were burned down |
| | |
| Nakwa Langa | And Langa too |
| Kwakhal' inkomo kwakhal' imbuzi | Cattle...and goats bleated |
| Yatsh' imizi | Houses were burned down |
| EmaMpondweni | In Pondoland |
| Kwakhal' inkomo kwakhal' imbuzi | Cattle...and goats bleated |
| Yatsh' imizi | Houses were burned down |
| EMbashe | At Mbashe |
| Kwakhal' inkomo kwakhal' imbuzi | Cattle...and goats bleated |
| Yatsh' imizi | Houses were burned down |

10.2.12. FREEDOM SONGS ADAPTED FROM 'SOUL' MUSIC

10.2.12.1. Gauteng (In Johannesburg) (Miriam Makeba)

| | |
|---|---|
| Gauteng, gauteng | In Johannesburg |
| Khutsanyana tsa ka di feletse teng | Our orphans disappeared there |

| | |
|---|---|
| Utlwang dillo tsa bana ba rona | Listen to the cries of our men |
| Ba swetseng komponeng | Who have died in the compounds |
| Mona gauteng | Here in Johannesburg |
| | |
| Bonang banna ba rona ba jeka | Look, our men are digging |
| Taemane, gauta | Diamond and gold |
| Batshwere ruo la heso | They are digging our wealth |
| Bonang tshaba sa hetsho | Look at our nation |
| Makhoba re fetotswe | We have been turned into slaves |
| Bonang fatsheng la bo-ntata rona | See the land of our fathers |
| Madi a rona a phalala | Our blood is spilling |
| Matla a rona a ho ditshaba dithabeng | Our strength is with other nations |
| Ba mose rona re feletse mona Gauteng | Overseas and we are idling in Johannesburg |
| Rona re feletse mona komponeng | We are idling in Johannesburg |
| Gauteng ke Gauteng Gauteng | Johannesburg, Johannesburg |
| Mona Gauteng | Here in Johannesburg |
| | |
| Bonang tshaba sa heso, se phehlehile | See the destruction of our nation |
| Mona Gauteng Gauteng Gauteng | Here in Johannesburg |
| Bonang bana ba heso | See our children |
| Ba fetohile mona Gauteng | Have changed in Johannesburg |

## 10.3. ORIGINAL AND ADAPTED WORKERS SONGS

### ORIGINAL

10.3.1. (a) Ilanga (sun) adapted from igwijo/traditional song

| | |
|---|---|
| Ilanga litshonile | [The sun has set |
| Yee haye mas'goduke (2x) | Let us go home |
| | |
| Ikhuba lithengwa ngokubonwa | One buys the plough as one sees it (seeing is believing) |

| | |
|---|---|
| Yee haye mas'goduke | Let us go home |
| Intombi zitshelwa ngokubonwa | One proposes love to girls as one sees them (seeing is believing) |
| Yee haye mas'goduke | Let us go home] |

ADAPTED

10.3.1. (b) Basebenzi masimanyane (Workers unite)

| | |
|---|---|
| Amandla ngawethu | [Power to the people |
| Basebenzi mas'manyane (2x) | Unity to the workers |
| Kudala sisebenzel' amaBhulu | We have long been working for the Boers |
| Basebenzi mas'manyane | Unity to the workers] |

10.3.2. Basebenzi be Afrika (Workers of Africa)

| | |
|---|---|
| Basebenzi nabalimi be-Afrika | [Workers and cultivators (peasants) of Africa |
| Dibanani nichith' oNgoxowankulu Mh! | Unite and destroy the capitalists |
| Limkilie ilizwe nentshaba | Gone is the land with the enemy |
| Baphi n' onyana be Afrika? (2x) | Where are the sons of Africa? |
| Thabathani imipu yenu | Take your guns |
| Thabathani nemikhonto yenu | And your spears |
| Nisingise ezindaweni | Foward to the |
| Apho likhona idabi | Battle fields |
| Phakathi kwabantu nabacindezeli | Between the people and the oppressors |
| Bonyana nentombi ze-Afrika | Sons and daughters of Africa |
| Zenicing' uSobukw' esiqithini (2x) | Do not forget Sobukwe in the island |

| | |
|---|---|
| Basebenzi nabalimi be Afrika | Workers and cultivators of Africa |
| Dibanani nichith' oNgxowankulu Mh! | Unite and destroy capitalists |
| Bachitheni oNgxowankulu | Destroy the capitalists |
| Zintshaba zabantu ezo | Those are your enemies] |

# 11. APPENDIX III: POLITICAL POEMS

## 11.1. PROTEST AND LIBERATION POEMS

### 11.1.1. Remember our Heroes (UDF)

I salute my brothers and sisters
Today I remember the blood of our fellow comrades
All those freedom fighters who are being shot
During the unrest on this earth
I divulge this matter with meditation
A great question of day will not ask through speeches
And resolution of majority
Our life is too hard to compare
Our life is marked by visisitude from wealth to poverty
The bullet will not deviate our nationality and patriotism
A threat is a threat I don't say a threat is a threat
The earth has a godless right
The earth has a paradoxical situation
To link on a street with death
Here resteth the bones of our innocent heroes
Because of injustice and unfairness of this earth
This journey has victims and thorns (biblical expression)
With no children of the ground
Remember a tree of liberty when it is watered by blood
It grows taller and taller
Please! let's not forget those in cemetry
Let's tell them that we are breaking these shackles of apartheid
We are still fighting this battle of oppression and exploitation
The struggle will persist until the victory
Let's sing the song for them which will be echoed by
The Drakensberg mountains
Let us shout the slogan for them
Come my brothers and sisters in oblivion and institution
To share this sympathetic shame
For we all suffer from the same maltreatment
Let it be vivid that:
'An injury to one is an injury to all'

'An insult to one is an insult to all'
'A dismissal to one is a dismissal to all'
35. May dear God rest with you
Viva!!!!
Viva!!!!

11.1.2. Give me an AK 47 (By Pula Arts)

1. Give me an AK-47 (2x)
Democracy, liberty, freedom
Nobody knows the concept of democracy
The price we pay for liberty
You must speak to the children of Soweto
Let them tell you about freedom

7. Give me an AK-47
I have a destiny just like Botha
I would like to declare a state of emergency
I declare the release of all political prisoners
The surrender of our political and outside leaders
It is a conscious mind of a seven year old...
that speaks about the 'isms' of politics
It is the mind that determines the direction
And pace of the revolution

16. Give me an AK-47
Ha-ha-ha! I hear you laugh
At the forefront of your mind
And at the back of my mind
We know that there is revolution going on
The sky may be the limit
But our revolution is destined beyond the sky
I am the 16th commander
Born in June the 16th 1976
With the conscious...
Pray with me

27. Love not thy mother, for thy mother is a traitor
Frankly speaking the name is Thatcher
Love not thy father, for thy father is an agitator
Frankly speaking his name is Botha

Oh! father, freedom means no name
Thy freedom come
Give us this day our daily AK-47
Lead us not into temptation
Forgive us our sins, as we shall forgive not
Those who have sinned against us

37. Love not thy system, for thy system is corrupt
It is on the verge of breaking up
I call upon capitalism
The pain and cost of getting in Azania
give me an AK-47
I have a destiny, my destiny is Azania

11.1.3. 'I am the Bantustan' (Taken from New Nation 12/8/88)

1. Come see the misery
Come see the pain
The long queues of workers
Each day the same
Waiting for work
Waiting in vain
No job from the white man
He runs the game
I am the Bantustan

10. Come see the suffering
Come see the despair
The millions uprooted
And dumped in my care
Stripped of their land
And removed away
Overcrowding, erosion
And poverty stay
I am a Bantustan

19. Come see repression
Come see careless murder
The blood flowing freely
The sound of gunfire
Beatings and bannings

Detentions and torture
Come see the tears
The fear and the anger
I am the Bantustan

28. Come see the hunger
Come see the poverty
Droughts and disease
Starvation, misery
Yet water is diverted
To the richman's factory
And the grave that lies filled
And yet still feeding daily
I am the Bantustan

11.1.4. Sobukwe (by Sloeko Bethe, 1986:9)

1. Hail Sobukwe
Son of the soil
One of the few amongst the many...
True sons of Afrika
You are the light in the darkness...
That winds can't extinguish
Your spirit has inspired many...
In the hour of darkness
When some were wavering...
You said it loud and clear...
That you are for the people...
And for the people shall you
Serve...suffer...and sacrifice
Into their prison did the terrorists
Send you...in isolation...
For solid three years...
With no one to lean on
But your conviction!

19. When the time for your release was nigh
And the tide of discontent high
Together they ganged...
in the racist parliament...
And decreed...release him not!
Let him be!

Brave you were...
Son of Afrika
To stay on Robben Island
For solid six years more
And still you said: "my people must be free!"

Their running dogs could not buy your...
Soul...like theirs which they long sold
Instead...you were more resolute...
Unshakeable like a rock in the sea
What a grave fallacy
Restricting you to Kimberley!
Where they thought you would be lost!
Re-united with your people...
The people of Azania
The fire within you kept burning more...
and more

To hear people... in Kimberley!
Say: "Izwe lethu! Fatshe la rona!"
Long live son of Afrika!
Izwe Lethu!

11.1.5. Egameni lika Big Boy Mginywa (UDF)

Hoyina Midaka! Zemk' inkomo Magwalandini
Yinina le, mzi kaNtu, kaPhalo, kaTshiwo, kaNgconde, kaKwane
Bekan' indlebe nants' imbong' iyathetha
Yiyeken' iqoloty' ibhongoty' ixabangele
Nants' int' iluma ngaphakathi ihlobis' igazi
Waphel' umzi zimpundulu zomfo kaNdlunkulu
Umf' obomy' umbomboshol' okwebhanana lase Natala (Oh!)
Amaxurha ñooSatana bakhe banyalase benjenje na? (Mh!)
Masinqule ophezulu bandl' elihle lase Gwadana

Imbumbulu zabaf' abaphaliweyo zisenz' amaxhoba nezisulu (Tshawe!)
Oongalonkul' abanxanelw' igaz' elingenatyala (Tshawe!)
Int' eziwumunguny' umbele wocalu-calul' azaba nalusini
Ingcinezelo yabo ngumdliva nomdolomba
Ziwuhlel' umzi kaNtu ngolwamvila lokufa

Ngenjongo zokuqhizis' amalungel' oluntu
Nto ley' ebangel' isingqala ethi kuthi mandihlanye
Umnomb' ubekw' isizib' umntw' ejongile (Mh!)
Ixesha lengwatyu lona lishiywe ngamathub' alo
Yiva ke ndikucuntsulel' emqulweni ngezililo zika Yeremiya
Yena ucibela uciciyel' achancath' enjenje
'Kukhumbule Yehova oku kusihleleyo (Ewe!)
Beka ubone ingcikivo yethu
Ilifa lethu lisuke lenziw' elasemzini
Intshutshiso phezu kwentamo yethu
Sidiniw' asinakuphumla
Ukuthamba kwethu kujike kwaba kukumbambazela
Yinina ukuba silibala ngonaphakade imihla emide?
Sibuyisele kuwe Yehova sobuya
Hlaziya imihla yethu ngokwamandulo
Eli lilizwi lenkosi makubuyelwe kulo
Le meko ihlolani na wee Nombulelo? (isikolo)
Nge 28 kaApril 1985 sasifihla uTamsanqa Stephen (Mh!)
Namhlanje sifihla UBig Boy Mginywa, uyibeka phantsi inqawe
Kha uthelekise ukhe ungqamanise sihlobo

Hamba Big Boy, duna ndini, thole lesizw' esimnyama
Sizabashaya ngetoyi-toy' ebatshw' ingwatyu zibeth' umoya
(Is'qhazolo)
Sizobanqoba ngomzabalaz' obatshw' ingqondo zirhawuzele
Hamba Big Boy' ubakhwelel' obhonyongo bamatshaka (Ewe Mani!)
Zindlela zamagundwan' ezo (Yeke!)
Hamba Big Boy' amandla ngawthw' imipu yeyethu
Inene ubomi yincindi yekhala
Inene kobu bomi simpumputha kwizanzwili zomhlaba
Phakathi kokudliwa kobomi sikwasekufeni
Menze nkos' aphumle ngonaphakade
Umkhanyisele ngokhanyis' olungacimiyo (Ewe!)
Ncincilili Rham! Viva!
Vi---va!
Viva msebenzi!

Translation

1. Pay attention, Darkies! You are losing your land you cowards.
What is this, progeny of Ntu, Phalo, Tshiwo, Ngconde and Kwane?
Listen, here speaks imbongi (the poet)
Let me speak, explode and hack

Here is something bothering me, which 'causes clots in my blood' (worries me)
Here perisheth the country destroyed by the 'evil spirit' (Whites)
Who is as red, and as oblong (roundish) as the Natal banana (Oh!)
Have rascals and Lucifers been left unchallenged as these are? (Mh!)
Let us worship God congregation of Gwadana (witches' meeting place)

'Scraped people's' (Whites) bullets made us victims and bargains
Militants who are always blood-thirsty (Tshawe!)
Who have sucked the racist udder without mercy
They applied oppression in multitudes
They are killing Africans with the sting of death
With the intention of depriving them of their rights
Something that has made me feel like going berserk
Concealing the truth and source of information in our presence (Mh!)
Gone is the time of fearfulness
Let me quote for you from Jeremiah's lamentations
He elaborates, develops, expresses himself and says:
'Remember, O Lord, what has befallen us: (Yes!)
Behold, and see our revilement!
Our inheritance has been turned over to strangers
With a yoke in our necks we are hard driven;
We are weary, we are given no rest.
Our hospitality has been turned to mourning.
Why dost thou forget us for ever, forsake us so long?
Restore us to thyself, O Lord, that we may be restored!
Renew our days as of old!'
This is the word of God, Let us go back to it
What bad owmen is going to occur Nombulelo (high school in Grahamstown)
On the 28th of April 1985 we burried Tamsanqa Stephen (Mh!)
Today we are burying Big Boy Mginywa
Just compare and put together friend

Farewell! Big Boy son of the black nation
We'll frighten them with toyi-toyi that makes their trousers freeze (laughter)
We'll intensify the struggle that makes their minds stand still
Farewell! Big Boy leave the 'Tshaka' collaborators alone (Yes man!)
Those are rats' tactics (Good/Thus right!)

Farewell Big Boy, 'power to the people' and 'guns to the Whites'
In truth, life is as bitter as the aloe juice
In reality, we live in a life of frustrations
We live between life and death
Make him rest forever God
Illuminate for him with an undistinguishable light (Yes!)
So be it, Viva! (long live!)
Vi---va!
And you too, worker, Viva! (voice from the audience)

# 12. APPENDIX IV: INDIGENOUS AND POLITICAL SLOGANS

## 12.1. INDIGENOUS SLOGANS

### 12.1.1. Sizimpuphu

Solo = a
Chorus = b

(a) Sizimpuphu! (2x)
(b) Sizimpuphu umtheth' usamila, sizimpuphu!
(a) Siphuz' amanz' amabi ezululwini
(b) Siphuz' amanz' amabi ezululwini
(a) Uvelephi na wena low' uvel' egijima komkhulu nje nants' impi
(b) Uvelephi na wena low' uvel' egijima kimkhulu nje nants' impi

(a) Wawuyaphi Mlungu? (2x)
(b) Abhe-ka, abhekabheka ajong' emzini, anduk' yethu es' shaya ngayo emazibukweni eMzinyathi, abhe-ka!

## 12.2. POLITICAL SLOGANS

### 12.2.1. PAC SLOGANS

#### 12.2.1.1. (a)

(a) Foward with Pan-Africanism!
(b) Foward!
(a) Foward with African Nationalism!
(b) Foward!
(a) Foward with the Black Conscious Movement!
(b) Foward!
(a) Foward with Nkrumah!
(b) Foward!
(a) Foward with Mangaliso Sobukwe!
(b) Foward!

12.2.1.1. (b)

(a) Long live comrade Zulu!
(b) Long live!
(a) Long live comrade Sabelo!
(b) Long live!
(a) Down with White supremacy!
(b) Down!
(a) Down with Verwoerdism!
(b) Down!
(a) Down with herrenvolkism!
(b) Down!
(a) Down with apartheid!
(b) Down!
(a) Izwe lethu!
(b) I-Afrika!
(a) I-Afrika!
(b) Izwe lethu!

12.2.1.1. (c)

(a) Long live the African Unity!
(b) Long live!
(a) Long live the Azanian revolution!
(b) Long live!

12.2.1.1. (d)

(a) Down with White supremacy!
(b) Down!
(a) Down with Inkatha!
(b) Down!
(a) Down with the White Tri-cameral parliamentary system!
(b) Down!

12.2.1.1. (e)

(a) Long live the Pan Africansit Congress of Azania!
(b) Long live!
(a) Long live the Central Committee of PAC of Azania!
(b) Long live!
(a) Long live the High Command!
(b) Long live!

## 12.3. ANC (CONGRESS ALLIANCE) SLOGANS

### 12.3.1. (a) Toyi-toyi

* Note: I have only repeated the lines as repeated in the performance when there is a necessity to do so.

1. (a) Hama re! [1] ----- masoja, (Come Guerrilla, come soldiers)
   (b) Hayi! -------- Hayi!,hayi!
   (a) Hama re! ----- thura! [2] (Come Guerrilla, don't worry)
   (b) Hayi! -------- Hayi!,hayi!
5. (a) Hama re! ------ amzo? [3] (Come Guerrilla, where are you?)
   (b) Hayi! -------- Hayi!,hayi!

---

1. It is common in all training camps to have a special way of saying particular words for particular purposes. For example, A'TION instead of attention.

2. Thura is an improvised word derived from thula (be quiet, be peaceful).

3. One of the African States people use Amzo for 'where are you?' (interview with Boy-boy in Grahamstown, August 17th, 1988).

(a) Andiniva ------ bomama, (I can't hear you mothers)
(b) Hayi! ------- Hayi!, hayi!
(a) Andiniva ------ befundis'. (I can't hear you, ministers)
10. (b) Hayi! ------- Hayi!, hayi!
(a) Mfundis' Gujuns ---- Gujuba [4] (run minister, run)
(b) Hayi! ------- Hayi!, hayi!

(a) Wena gujuba ----- Gujuba (Hey you! run, run)
(b) Hayi! --------- Hayi!, hayi!

(a) Nayi generali, hlel' ehlathini (There's a general, staying in the bush)
15. (b) Lisoja! ------- Lisoja! (It is a soldier)
(a) Nayi Phuwishara Hlel' ehlathini [5] (There's a communist staying in the bush too)
(b) Lisoja! ------- Lisoja!
(a) Nayi komanitshi Hlel' lehlathini (And another communist)
(b) Lisoja! ------- Lisoja!

20. (a) Hamba Mandela (Move Mandela) ---- Hamba Mandela
(b) Liso --- lisoja
(a) Move fast Mandela ------- yi general
(b) Zinzi Mandela -------- yigeneral
(b) Liso --- lisoja

---

4. Gujuns and gujuba are 'improvisations' derived from gijima (run)

5. One of the African States people call communists puwishara (interview with Sana)

25. (a) Toyiva ya Toyiva, [6] --- yigeneral
    (b) Liso --- lisoja

    (a) A rejeng di kedime, [7] ---- Toyi-toyi (Let's chase them away)
    (b) Gijim ----------Gijim, gijim (run)
    (a) A rejeng di kedime, --- Msebenzi (Let's get them workers)
30. (b) Gijim ---------- Gijim, gijim
    (a) A re jeng di kedime, --- Ne span soMkhonto (Let's chase them with ANC's military wing cadres)
    (b) Gijim ---------- Gijim, gijim

    (a) Kuthi ndizule, ---- Ke fite [8] (I feel like a freedom fighter)
    (b) Gijim ---------- Gijim, gijim

35. (a) ..... [9] Bamkrinyile (they have choked him to death)
    (b) Liso ----------lisoja
    (a) Siphiwo ka Mthimkhulu Bamkrinyile (and him too)
    (b) Liso --------- lisoja
    (a) Solomon Mahlangu, ---- Bambulele (They have killed him)
40. (b) Liso --------- lisoja

---

6. Toyiva ja Toyiva is a Namibian political activist who was once sent to Robben Island.

7. Ha re jeng re kedima is Sotho and it means 'lets approach running'.

8. Kefite is also Sotho for 'pass'

9. We could not figure out what was said in line 35.

(a) Eyi Majere, ---- Majere! (in jails) (4x)
(b) Hayi! -------- Hayi!, hayi!
(a) Eeh!!!! (Signal of the end of the first part) (2x)
(b) Eeh!!!!!

45. (a) Thura! ----- thura! (Don't worry, everything will be fine)
(b) Hayi! ------- Hayi!, hayi!
(a) Bopha! ----- bopha! (Unite)
(b) Hayi! Hayi!, hayi!
(a) Naziya!, ---------- Ziyabaleka (There are the hippos, that is, Defence Force armoured trucks running away)
50. (b) Voetsek! [10] --------- Voetsek!, foetsek! (go away)

(a) Phos' igrineyitha ---- yiphos' eCourt (throw the hand grenade into the Court of Law) (6x)
(b) Ka' ka' ka' ka' ka' ka'! Gquzu!
(a) Shaya nge mortar ------- Aph' eCourt (shoot with the mortar)
(b) Ka' ka' ka' ka' ka' ka'! Gquzu!
55. (a) Eeh! MK! Mkhonto weSizwe (Salute to ANC's military wing, Spear of the Nation)
(b) Eeh! MK!
(a) Thura! (Don't worry we will get them, the Boers)

---

10. Voetsek is from Afrikaans and it means 'go away'.

12.3.1. (b) Toyi-toyi

(a) = Solo
(b) = Chorus

(a) Come Guerrilla ----- Guerrilla (2x)
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Wangen' umkhonto --- umkhonto (Here comes the spear)
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Sebeth' uyeza ----- umkhonto (They say it's comming)
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Sewufikile --------- umkhonto (It has arrived)
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Elwa noBotha ------- umkhonto (Fighting Botha)
(b) ---------- Hayi! ---------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) MPLA -------- umkhonto (Angola soldiers)
(b) ----- Hayi! ---------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Emajele ----- majele (3x) (People are in jail)

(a) Baba Mandela (Father Mandela)
(b) ---------- Liso... lisoja (He is a soldier)
(a) Baba Sisulu (Father Sisulu)
(b) Baba Gadrata
(b) ---------- Liso ...lisoja
(a) Baba Mhlaba
(b) ---------- Liso....lisoja
(a) 60 degrees ------ degrees (Command for 60 degrees)
Performers trot with their legs up in 60 degrees position
(a) Gumboots -------- boots
Only gumboots can be heard from the performers

(a) Baphel' abant' ----- emajele (People are dying in jail)
(b) ---------- Hayi! -------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Sizinkokhel' ----- Ey'tha! (We are leaders, hats off)
(b) ---------- Hayi! -------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Sizinkokhel' ----- masoja (Soldiers are leaders)
(b) ---------- Hayi! -------- Hayi, hayi!

(a) Baphel' abant' ---- emajele (People are dying in jail)
(b) ---------- Hayi! ------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Baphel abant' ----- ehlathin' (And also in the forest)
(b) ---------- Hayi! ------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Phos' grenade (2x) (Throw the grenade)
(b) ---------- Ka ka ka ka ka ka gquzu (Grenade explodes)
(a) Shaya nge AK (2x) (Shoot with the AK-47)
(b) ---------- Ka ka ka ka ka ka gquzu
(a) Shaya nge mortar(2x) (Shoot with mortar)
(b) ---------- Ka ka ka ka ka ka gquzu

(a) Baphel' abant' ---- emajele
(b) ---------- Hayi! -------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Baphel' abant' ---- ehlathin'
(b) ---------- Hayi! -------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Sizinkokheli ----- Ey'tha
(b) ---------- Hayi! -------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Sizinkokheli ----- masoja
(b) ---------- Hayi! -------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) Sizinkokheli ----- guerilla
(b) ---------- Hayi! -------- Hayi, hayi!
(a) 60 degrees ------- degrees
Performers trot with their legs a little bit up
(a) Gumboots --------- boots (Command gumboots only)
Performers perform with their gumboots only
(a) 30 degrees
Performers get back to their trotting position
(a) 60 degrees
Call for the legs to go up
(a) 90 degrees
Another call for legs to go a little bit higher
(a) Eh! Mk! (3x)

(a) Qhwaban' izandla (2x) (Clap your hands)
(b) ---------- qhwa, qhwa, qhwa (Sound of the hands)
(a) Babuliseni (Greet them, the soldiers)
(b) --------- Molweni, molweni (Hello, hello)
(a) Buzan' impilo (Ask how are they?)
(b) -------- Ninjani, ninjani (How are you?)
(a) Baphen' isonka (Give them bread)
(b) -------- Inani, inani (Here is the bread)

12.3.2. Other UDF and ANC Slogans

12.3.2.1. (a)

(a) = Solo
(b) = Chorus

(a) Amandla (Power)
(b) Ngawethu (To the people)
(a) An injury to one
(b) An injury to all
(a) Vukani makhosikazi, vukani! (Wake up women, wake up)
(b) Vukani! (Wake up)
(a) Yomelelani magwalandini lemk ilizwe, yomelelani! (Toughen you cowards, you have lost the land)
(b) Yomelelani (Toughen)

(a) Amandla!
(b) Ngawethu!
(a) Unban African National Congress unban!
(b) Unban!
(a) Unban South African Communist Party!
(b) Unban!
(a) Unban our leaders, unban!
(b) Unban!
(a) Come home our leaders, come home!
(b) Come home!
(a) Unban United Democratic Front, unban!
(b) Unban!
(a) Unban Congress of South African Trade Unions, unban!
(b) Unban!
(a) Malihlome! (Let it intensify, the struggle)
(b) Lihlomile (It has intensified)

(a) Move out of our townships, move out!
(b) Move out!
(a) Away with Southern African Development Coordination Conference, away
(b) Away!

(a) Away with Sebe, Mathanzima, Mangope, Mpepu, Botha Alliance, away!
(b) Away!
(a) Away with South African Defence Force, Away!
(b) Away!
(b) Away with the Botha Malan Regime, away!
(b) Away!

(a) Siyamnyash' uBotha siyamnyasha! (We are crushing Botha)
(b) Siyamnyasha! (We are crushing)
(a) Siyamnyash' uSebe siyamnyasha!
(b) Siyamnyasha!
(a) UDF unites
(b) Apartheid divides!
(a) United we stand!
(b) Divided we fall!
(a) An insult to one!
(b) An insult to all!
(a) I - Afrika! (Africa)
(b) Mayibuye! (Come back)

12.3.2.1. (b)

Solo = (a)
Chorus = (b)

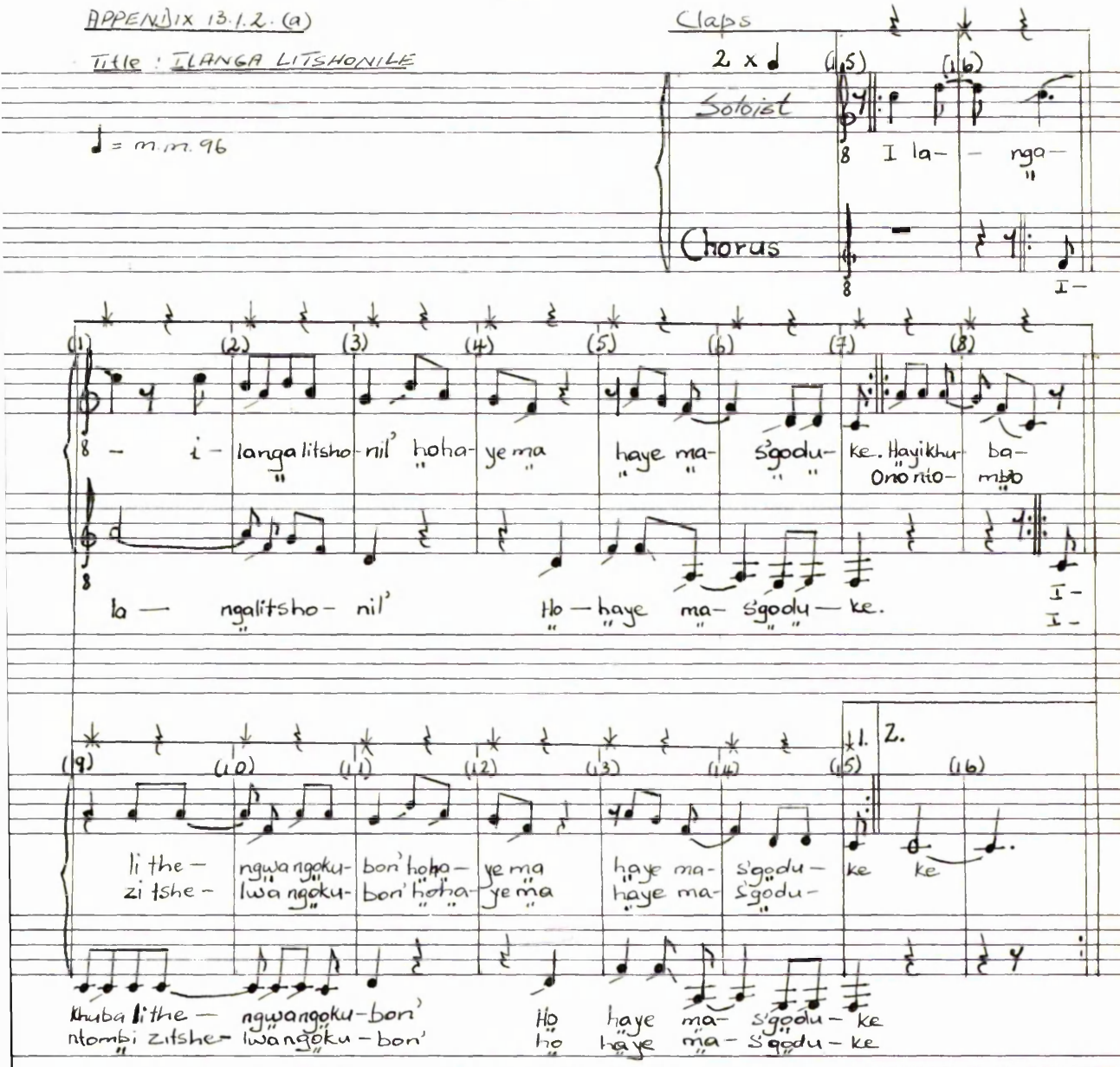
(a) Amandla! Power!
(b) Ngawethu! To the people!
(a) Viva ANC viva!
(b) Viva!
(a) Viva mkhonto wesizwe viva! Long live Spear of the nation
(b) Viva!
(a) Viva South African Communist Party viva!
(b) Viva!
(a) Viva UDF viva!
(b) Viva!
(a) Viva all progressive forces viva!
(b) Viva!

(a) Viva Maqabane (comrades) viva!
(b) Viva!
(a) Alephuz' amadangaty' enkululeko — Up go the flames of liberty
Barhawuk' odyakalashe neengonyama — Scorched are the jackals and the lions (opportunists)
(b) Hayi! (exclamation)
(a) The people!
(b) Shall govern!

APPENDIX 13.1.2. (a)

Title : ILANGA LITSHONILE

♩ = m.m. 96

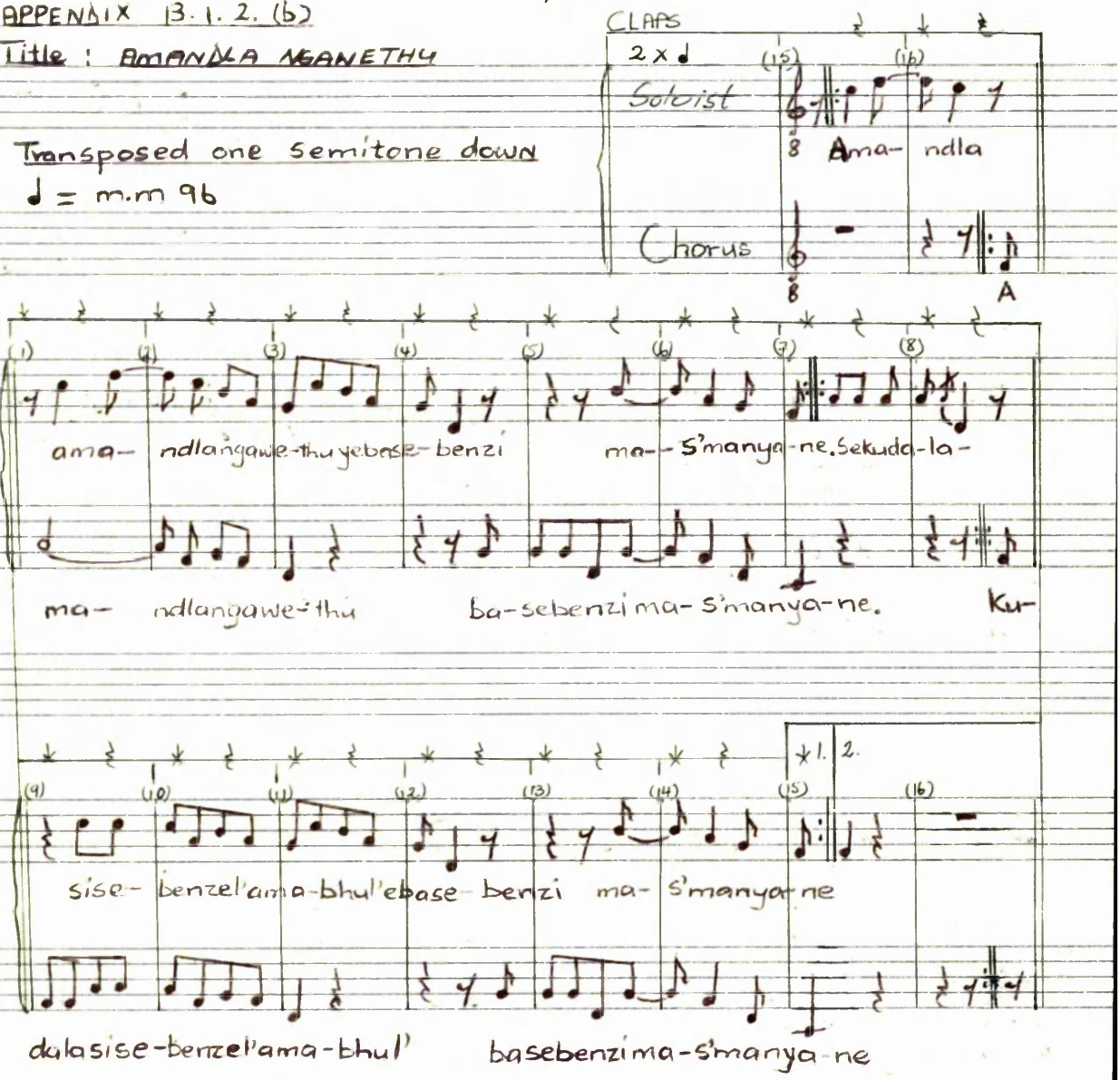


APPENDIX 13.1.2.(b)

Title : AMANDLA NGANETHU

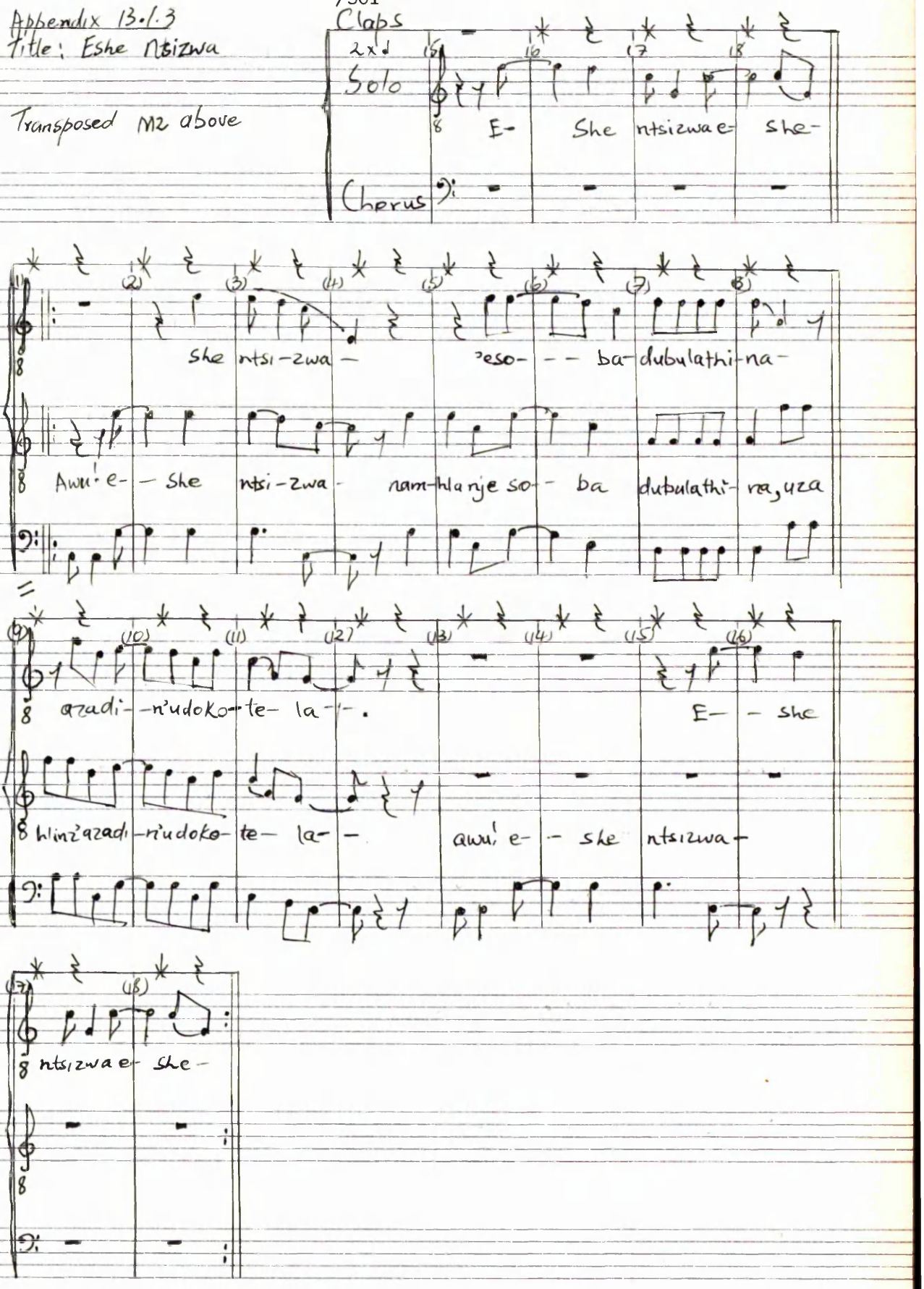
Transposed one semitone down

♩ = m.m 96



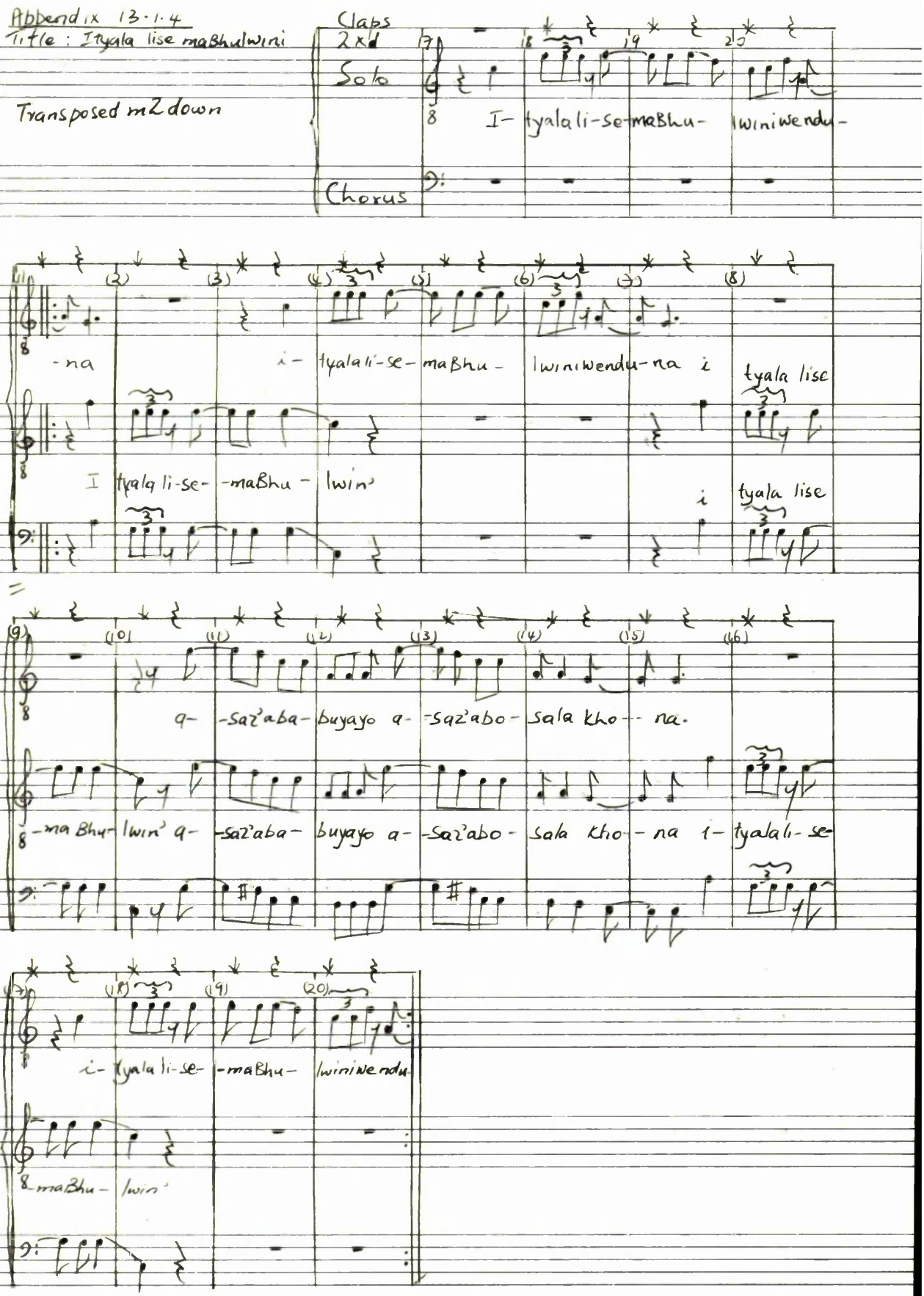
Appendix 13.1.3
Title: Eshe Ntsizwa

Transposed M2 above



Appendix 13·1·4
Title : Ityala lise maBhulwini

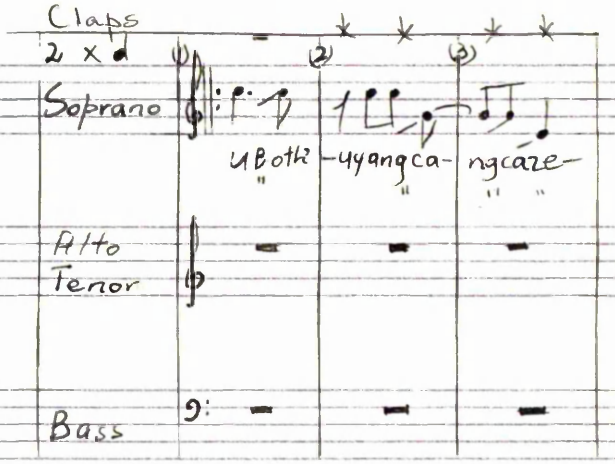
Transposed m2 down

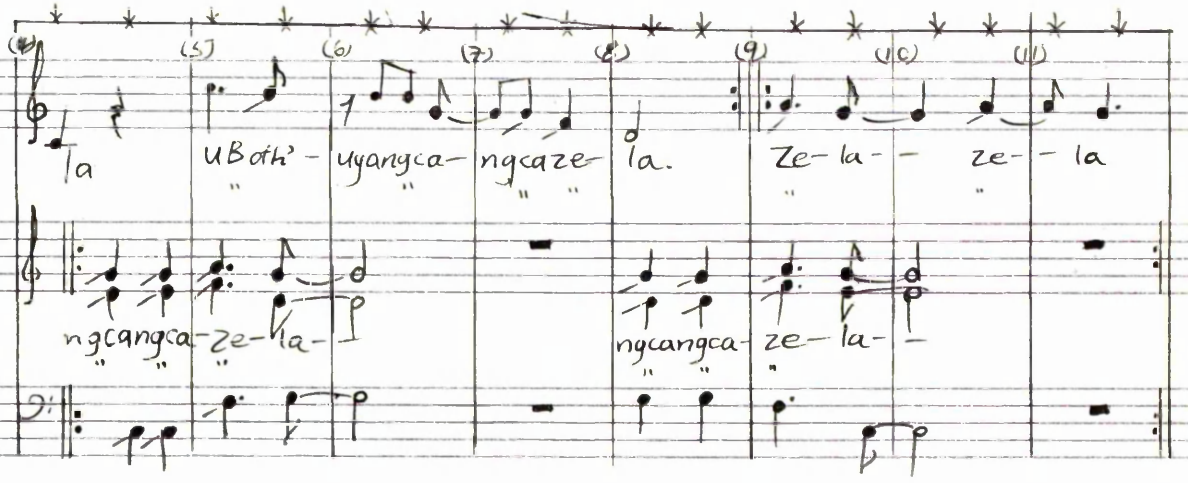


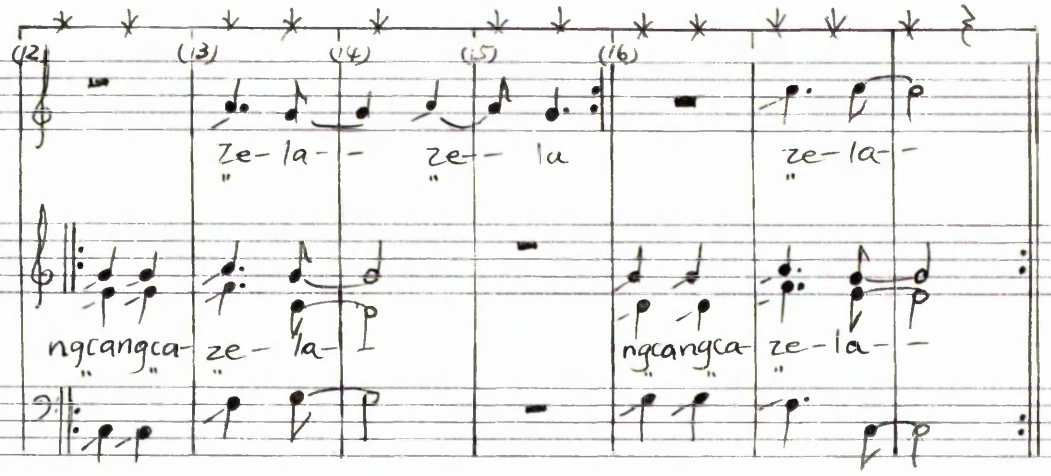
APPENDIX 13.2.1

Title: UBoth'uyangcangcazela

♩ = m.m. 120



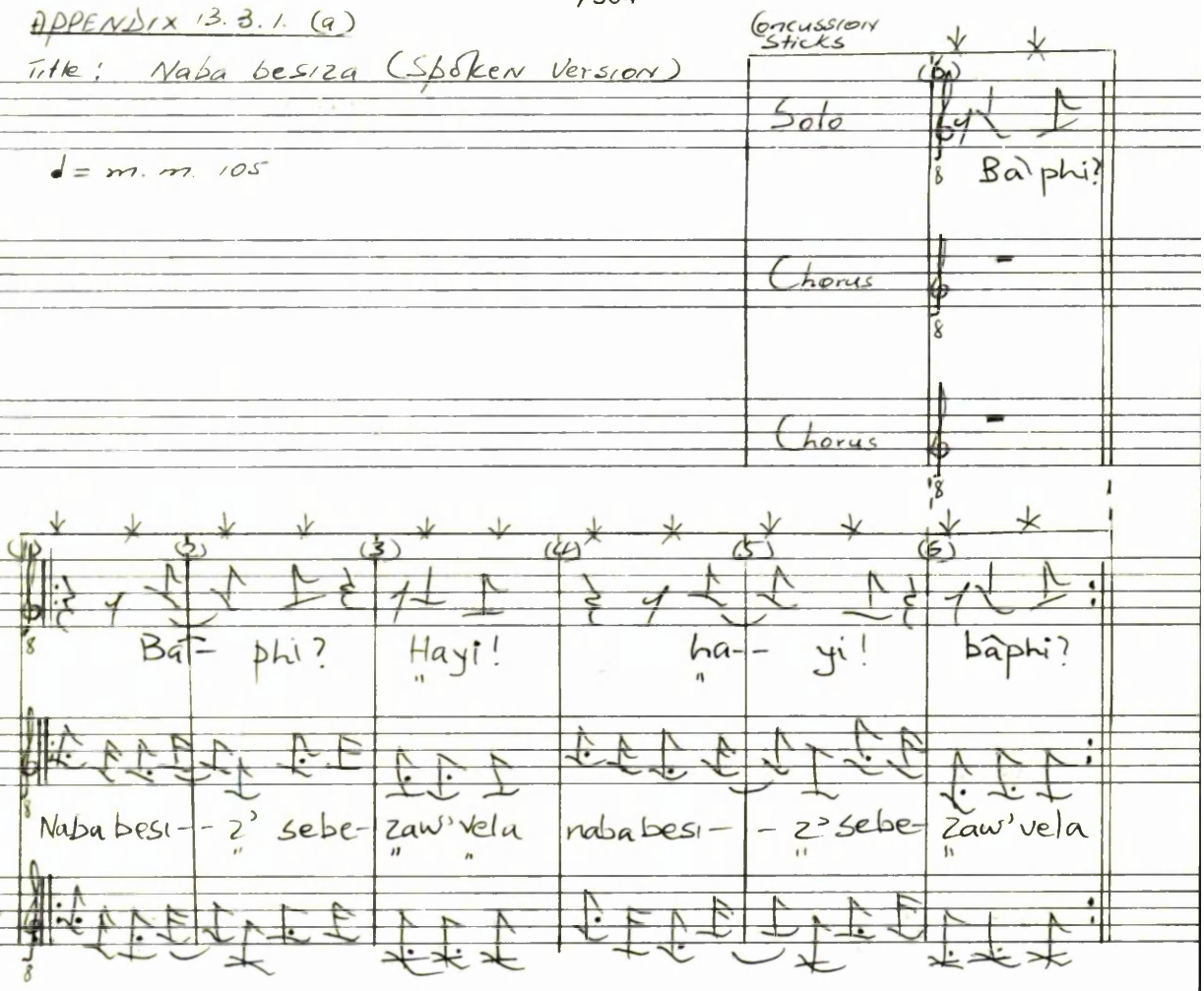



APPENDIX 13.3.1. (a)

Title: Naba besiza (Spoken Version)

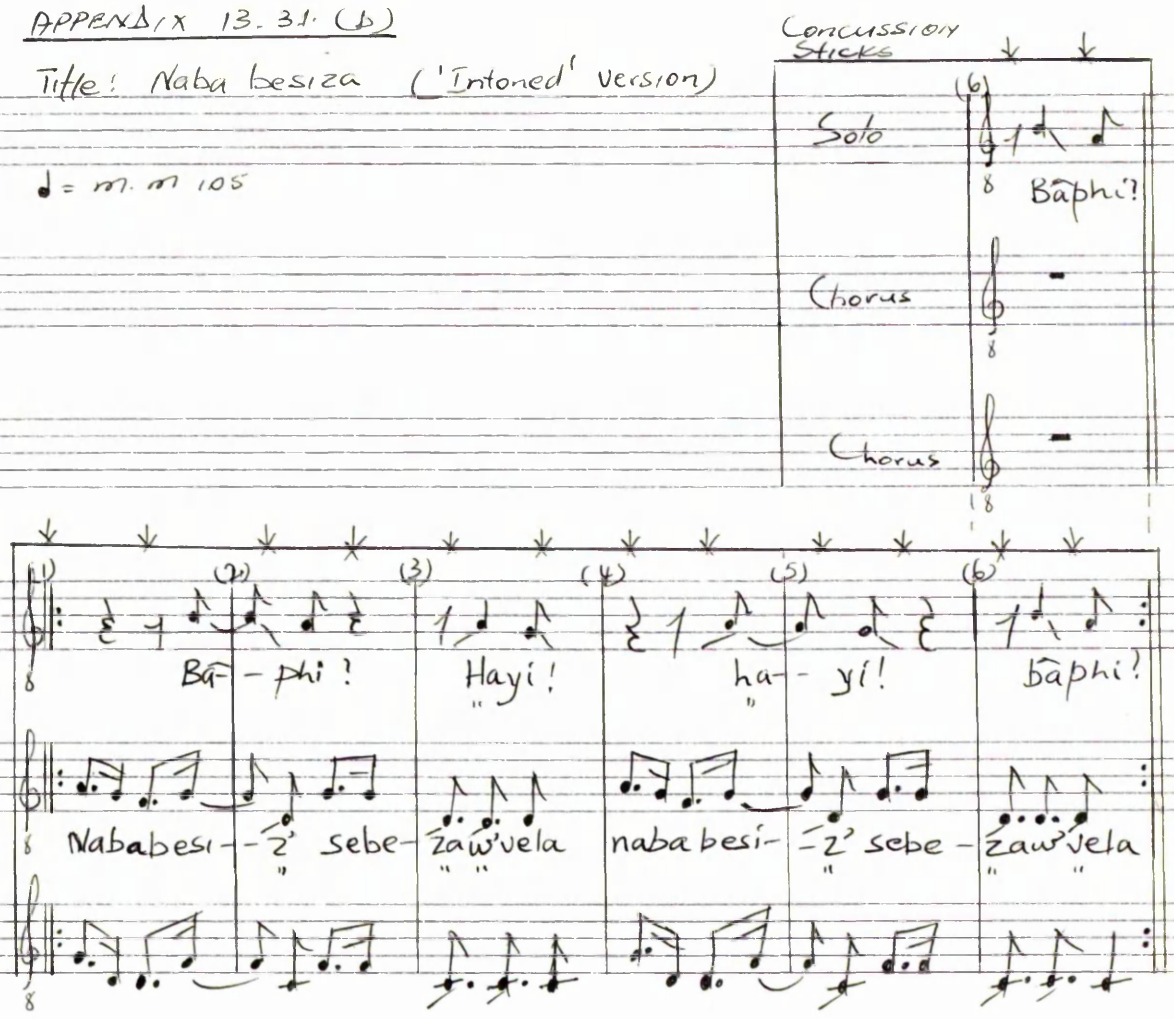
♩ = m. m. 105



APPENDIX 13.31. (b)

Title: Naba besiza ('Intoned' version)

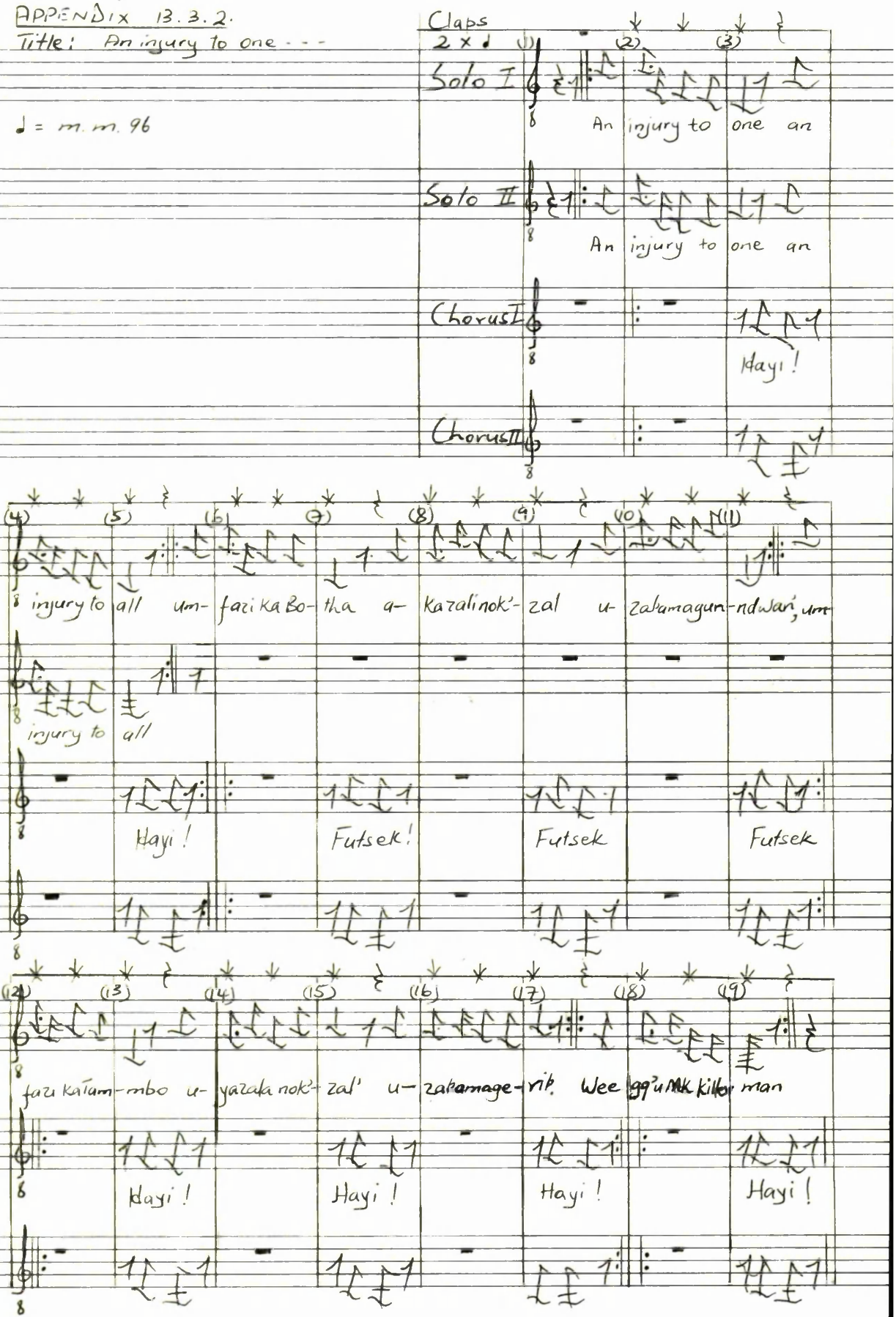
♩ = m.m 105



APPENDIX 13.3.2.

Title: An injury to one - - -

♩ = m.m. 96

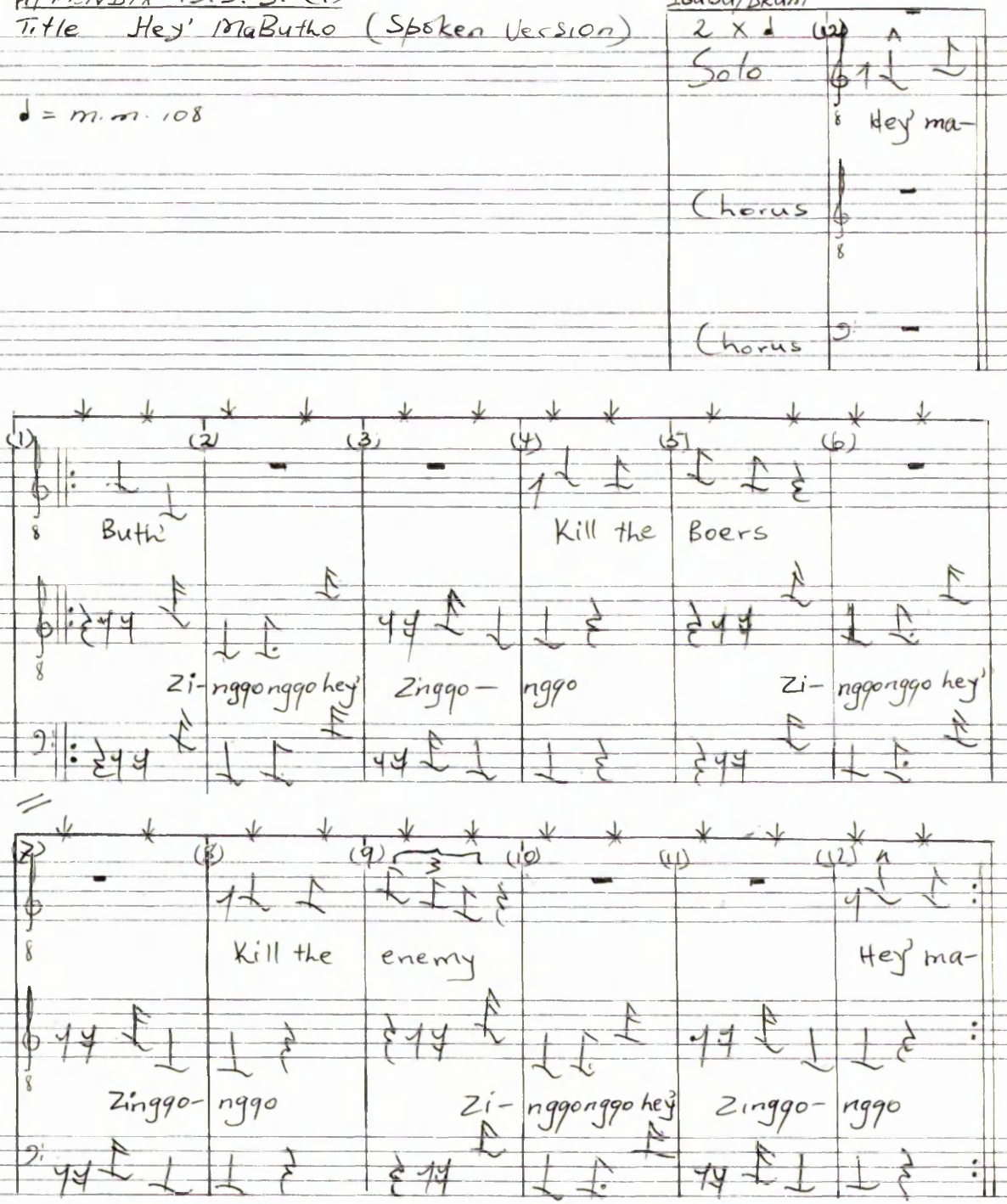


APPENDIX 13.3.3. (9)

Title Hey' MaButho (Spoken Version)

♩ = m.m. 108

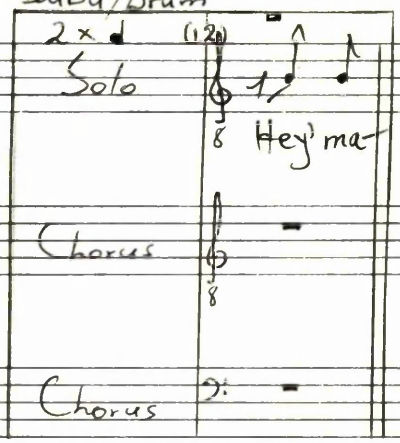
IGUBU/DRUM

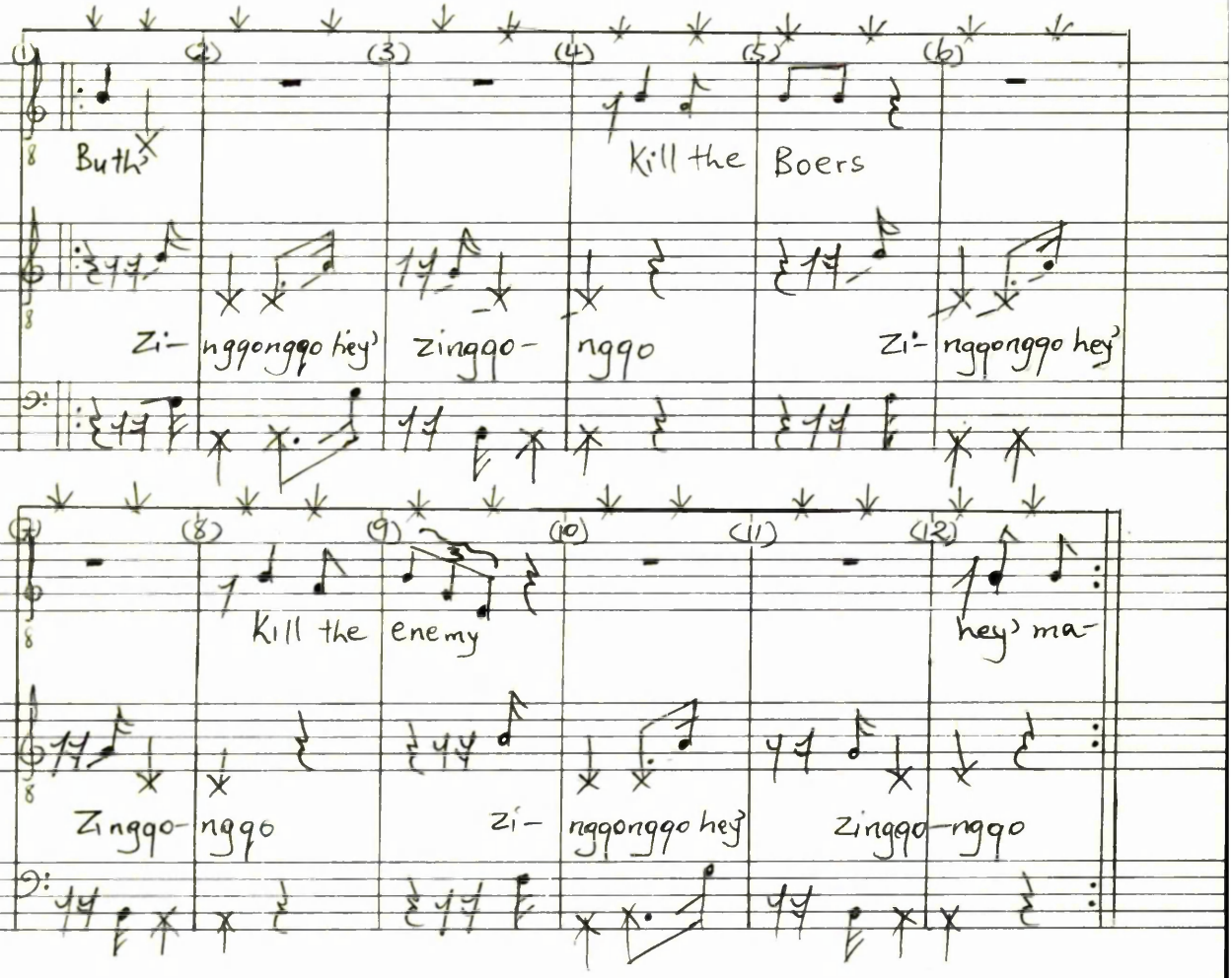


APPENDIX 13.3.3. (b)

Title: Hey' maButho ('Intoned' version)

♩ = m.m. 108



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